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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC

QUARTERLY REVIEW

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(Extract from Salutatory, July, 1890.)

VOL. XLIII.—OCTOBER, 1918—NO. 172.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL TRAINING OF THE RUSSIAN CLERGY.

THE most trying problem of the national church of New Russia will be the training of a clergy adequate to the needs of these trying days. I believe that no nation, Catholic or Protestant, has in our day grappled with the question of the education of the younger clergy to such an extent as Russia. All the shortcomings of her clergy, apparent as they are in the very religious and social life of Russian Christianity, are due to defective methods of moral and intellectual preparation prescribed for candidates for the priesthood. A survey, therefore, of the schools in which Russia's priests have in the past been trained will give us a deeper insight into the religious consciousness of Russia and a keener comprehension of its gaps.

It is needless to say that the future destinies of the Russian clergy are a matter of great concern to the Catholic Church. We Catholics are firmly convinced of the validity of Russian ordinations. However great the sin of schism may be, we regard Russian Bishops and priests as endowed with the sacramental power. We are fully

[1] "Rélégués dans notre schisme," writes P. Tchaadaef, the great Russian philosopher, "rien de ce qui se faisait en Europe n'arrivait jusqu' à nous. Nous n'avions rien à demêler avec la grande affaire du monde. . . . Malgré le nom de Chrétiens que nous portions quand le Christianisme s'avançait majestueusement dans la voie qui lui était tracée par son Divin Fondateur, et entrainait les générations après lui, nous ne bougions pas. . . . Chrétiens le fruit du Christianisme ne murissait pas pour nous." "Oeuvres choisies de Pierre Tchadaieff, publiées pour la première fois par le P. Gagarin." Paris, 1862; p. 30.

aware of the decay of their apostolic life.[1] Yet, according to our Catholic doctrine, the sources of that life are not exhausted. The day will dawn when the fresh and limpid waters of Catholic piety, doctrine and tradition will fill them to the edge. And then Russian Christianity will recreate its lost energies and contribute powerfully to the revival of Christian spirit throughout the world.

However dark the horizons of social and religious Russia are at present, we have faith in a spiritual rebirth of the Russian people. And our faith should not be fruitless. We need not to lose our interest in the trials of the Russian Church. She has already begun to write with blood the pages of a new era of her history. And blood, in the Christian conception of life, is a purifying element, a powerful instrument of resurrection. A free Church, a Church which is forced to struggle for the defense of her doctrinal inheritance and the continuation of her redemptive work, cannot but feel a spontaneous attraction towards Rome. God grant that our belief may be fulfilled and that the efforts of Leo XIII. and of Benedict XV. may draw the Eastern Churches nearer to the centre of Christian unity!

The topic we are dealing with embraces the several periods of the history of the Russian Church. For the sake of accuracy, we will treat successively of the schools for the training of Russian clergy: First, before the institution of the Holy Synod; second, under the Holy Synod at the time of Peter the Great and under his successors; third, during the period of reform in the nineteenth century (1808-1880), and fifth, during the time of the Russian revolutionary movement.

THE RUSSIAN SCHOOLS FOR PRIESTHOOD BEFORE THE INSTITUTION OF THE HOLY SYNOD.

"Ancient Russia," writes Peter Vasilevich Znamensky at the beginning of a famous work on Russian ecclesiastical schools, "had only one type of elementary teaching, that given in the parochial schools, consisting of reading, singing and writing. The teachers of those schools were members of the local parochial clergy, or even of the laity. Both classes received their education in the same schools, so that their culture always stopped its ascent at the same point. The schools, to be sure, were open to all, without discrimination because of social conditions, or because of the future career of the pupils. Their courses were imbued with a frankly religious character. This was due to the religious tendencies of Russian society at that time. But they could not be qualified as ecclesiastical seminaries, as schools instituted for the training of the youth with the hope that they might become priests. The ancient Russia had

no special training for candidates for the priesthood. Yet this negligence was not without its good side. The bond between pastors and the common people was closer. On the other hand, it was prejudicial to pastoral life and the development of religious culture, wherein the clergy were on the same footing as their flock. They could not retain the leadership of their people in the great task of assimilating Christian truths. They became rather the representatives, the embodiment of those religious conceptions prevailing among the uncultivated masses. The only way to gain the ascendancy over the common people and to reach a higher degree of religious culture was by self-instruction. Priests were able to achieve a high standing as men of learning by assiduous conning of liturgical literature—a term which embraced all the religious books of that time."[2]

The national chroniclers of Russia have passed on to posterity no information as to the earliest intellectual preparation of the clergy. They tell us that Vladimir the Great (980-1015) did a good deal to encourage instruction of children. But his measures were limited to the education of the sons of the nobility. Yet few of the nobility went to the ranks of the clergy. From the earliest times Russian priests were chosen from the poorest classes, for even rich peasants felt a repugnance for the sacerdotal life. In the religious history of Russia, from the outset, the Russian clergy appear as a caste, and a caste recruited from the poor, who often saw in the priesthood merely a means of gaining their livelihood.[3] They were chosen by their fellow-peasants. They had the same religious culture. They knew only the rudiments of the Christian faith and the reading of liturgical books.[4]

So far as its clergy were concerned, primitive Russian Christianity took the shape rather of a liturgical body than that of a moral and religious one. The ignorance of the clergy may in large degree be accounted for by the predominance of that ritualistic formalism which characterizes Russian orthodoxy. The dogmatic and ethical teaching of Christian faith took but shallow root in Russian hearts. No dogmatic controversies, but ritualistic trifles, gave rise to the schisms of the Russian Church.

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[2] P. V. Znamensky, "Dukhovnyia shkoly v Rossii do reformy 1808 goda" ("The Ecclesiastical Schools in Russia Down to the Reforms of Peter the Great"); Kazan, 1881; pp. 1-2.

[3] E. Golubinsky, "Istoriia russkoi tzerkvi" ("History of the Russian Church"), Vol. I., 1; Moscow, 1901; pp. 445, 448, 704. Sergiei Mikhailovich Solovev; "Istoriia Rossii s drevnieishikh vremen" ("History of Russia From the Most Ancient Times"). Book V., ch. 8, Vol. I., pp. 253-254.

[4] A. Mikhailov, "Osnovy narodnago obrazovaniia v Rossii" ("The Foundations of Popular Instruction in Russia"), Dielo, Petrograd, 1874; Vol. I., pp. 180-226; 199.

According to Metropolitan Macarii, in the twelfth century, Roman Rotislavich (d. 1180), prince of Smolensk, attempted to raise the intellectual level of the Russian clergy. He opened schools and called Greek and Latin scholars. He spent all his riches for the purpose of spreading religious instruction among his subjects.[5] That his attempts, however, met with failure may be judged from the council held at Vladimir in 1274, which found it necessary to stress the occasion for a higher clerical culture and the overcoming of the vice of drunkenness, so prevalent among priests.[6]

The Tartarization of Russia for a period of two and a half centuries (1240-1480) made the intellectual condition of the clergy worse, if anything. Muscovite Russia in the sixteenth century is crowded with priests who by their ignorance abase the dignity of their ministry. This is the conclusion to be drawn from the acts of the Council of the Hundred Chapters (Stoglav), held in Moscow in 1551. It was asserted in the council that the candidates for deaconship and priesthood scarcely could read and write. Russian Bishops were at a loss. If they consented to ordain them, they would be contravening the ecclesiastical canons; if they refused, the churches would remain without pastors and the faithful without sacraments. The Bishops asked the ordinands why they were so illiterate. The ordinands answered them: "We have studied in our schools under the guidance of our parents and masters; they are the only teachers we have. What knowledge they had they imparted to us. If they do not know well the meaning of the Holy Scripture, why should we pay the penalty for their ignorance?"[7]

The council recommended that learned priests be chosen, and have entrusted to them the training of the candidates for ordination. They were charged with explaining to them the Bible and teaching the sacred chant and the fear of God. At the beginning of the same century, Gennadii, Archbishop of Novgorod (1484-1504), wrote that popular instruction was in the hands of unlearned peasants, who called themselves masters. There was a lack of candidates for priesthood. The peasants were requesting him to ordain illiterate men so that they might receive the sacraments of the Church.[8]

All the foreigners who visited Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries describe in the darkest colors the ignorance of the

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[5] Macarii Bulgakov, Metropolitan of Moscow, "Istoriia russkoi tzerkvi" ("History of the Russian Church"), Petrograd, 1868, Vol. III., pp. 122-125.

[6] "Opredieleniia Vladimirskago sobora 1274 goda" ("The Decisions of the Council of Vladimir in 1274"). Pravoslavnyi Sobesiednik, Kazan, 1863; Vol. I., p. 232.

[7] "Stoglav," ed. Subbotin. Moscow, 1890; p. 122. (The text is published in Slavic characters.)

[8] Macarii, op. cit., Vol. VII.; Petrograd, 1874; p. 113.

Russian clergy. Adam Olearius (1599-1671) refers to the fact that many priests and monks did not know the "Our Father." A few of them had learned the Ten Commandments, and thought themselves thus to have reached the highest summits of knowledge.[9] "The seventeenth century was an epoch of the deepest ignorance. The clergy shared in the darkness of the age. They were on the same footing with their flock. A special knowledge of the liturgical books was not required. They were ordained if they were able to read and write. The ritual and the psalter were the only books that they should know. Even Bishops could not boast of a high degree of culture, and if they distinguished themselves by their learning, they incurred the suspicion of heresy."[10]

Because of the ignorance of the Russian clergy, laymen writers began to sneer at the Russian Church, and even at Russian Christianity. In his famous work, "On Poverty and Riches," Ivan Tikhonovich Posochkov (1670-1726), the first economist of Russia, branded the darkness spread over his own country by the clergy. "There are priests in Russia," he wrote, "who are not acquainted with their spiritual mission; priests who are illiterate; priests who ignore the rudiments of Christian faith and what God asks from them. The light of faith is being extinguished by the ignorance, drunkenness and the other vices of the clergy."[11] He suggested the foundation of ecclesiastical schools in the dioceses, to be attended by the sons of the priests from the ages of ten to twenty-five, the circulation of the Bible and liturgical books among students; the diffusion of polemical works against Protestantism; the exclusion of unlearned men from the ranks of the clergy; the teaching of philosophy.[12] The great historian, Basil Nikitich Tatisshev (1686-1750), in his fiercest attacks on the Russian clergy, declared that the only means to heal their ignorance was to eradicate superstition, viz., the Christian faith.[13] And even Teofan Prokopovich, the author of the "Spiritual Regulation," lamented that the clergy who claimed

[9] "Opisanie puteshestviia v Moskoviu" ("Description of a Travel to Moscow"), ed. A. N. Loviagin; Petrograd, 1906; p. lxi., 332; S. M. Seredonin, "Sochinenie Fletchera of the Russian Commonwealth;" Petrograd, 1891; pp. 296-297. The work of Fletcher was published in 1591, reprinted in London, 1856. See "La Russie an XVII. siecle; par Giles Fletcher, ambassadeur d'Elisabeth d'Angleterre, avec une introduction par Charles du Bouset;" Leipzig, 1864; pp. 89-90.

[10] V. Th. Ikonomov, "Nakanunie reform Petra Velikago" ("On the Eve of the Reform of Peter the Great"). Moscow, 1903; pp. 152-153.

[11] "Sochineniia Ivana Posochkova" ("Works of Ivan Posochkov"), ed. M. Pogodin; Moscow, 1842; p. 2.

[12] Ibid., p. 25, A. Tzarevsky, "Posochkov i ego sochineniia" ("Posochkov and His Writings"). Moscow, 1883; pp. 71-75.

[13] "Istoriia rossiiskaia" ("Russian History"), Vol. I.; Moscow, 1768; ch. xlviii., p. 576.

the right of teaching and guiding their flock were unacquainted with the rudiments of Christian faith, and comported themselves like the blind leading the blind.[14] The same expressions are to be found in the acts of the great Council of Moscow in 1666-1667. The priests are frowned upon as teachers of immorality, superstition and prejudices. They are held responsible for the estrangement of the laymen from the Church.[15]

It was not enough for the Russian clergy to be uncultured. They strongly opposed the intellectual rebirth of Russia. They knew that the raising of the level of public instruction would have weakened the moral influence of the Orthodox Church. A Russian ecclesiastical historian writes: "The tendency of Russian society to remain in ignorance, the fear of falling into religious errors through scientific research, the proud conviction that Russians ought to be orthodox without learning, were a strong obstacle to the development of culture. Russians hated the Latins, the tricks of grammar and the learning of philosophers like an evil heresy. Even the Patriarchs at times refused their blessings to Russians who were anxious to be taught the Latin or German language by foreigners."[16]

The idea of raising the intellectual level of the Russian clergy[17] was conceived by the famous Jesuit, Antonio Possevino, in his first legation to Ivan IV. (Vasilievich the Terrible), 1533-1584. Possevino conferred with the Tsar at Moscow in 1582. He proposed to him the foundation in Rome of a seminary where ecclesiastical students would be faithfully instructed in the Greek faith of the ancient fathers. Pope Gregory XIII. was even ready to open Russian seminaries at Vilna and Polotzk, or to admit Russian students in the seminaries of Olmutz and Prague.[18] Ivan the Terrible refused

[14] Tzarevsky, op. cit.; p. 76.

[15] A. G. "Opredielewiia moskovskago sobora 1666-1667 goda" ("The Decisions of the Council of Moscow of 1666-1667"). "Pravoslavnii Sobesiednik," Kazan, 1863; t. III.; p. 234.

[16] A. Dobroklonsky. "Rukovodstvo po istorii russkoi tzerkvi" ("Handbook of History of the Russian Church"), Vol. III.; Moscow, 1889; p. 131.

[17] Nulla enim sunt in Moscovia gymnasia in quibus liberalibus doctrinis juventus instituatur, nulli item sacri doctores, qui populum pro concionibus erudiant. Moscorum doctissimi habentur ii, qui Ruthenicas litteras calleant. Orationem dominican perpauci novere. Symbolum apostolorum, decem capita veteris legis, Salutationemque angelicam paucissimi Christianae praeterea religionis, eam unusquisque habet cognitionem, quam domestica, puerilique institutione cum nutricis lacte hauserit. "Antonii Possevini missio moscovitica ex annuis litteris Societatis Jesu excerpta et adnotationibus illustrata, curante P. Pierling." Parisiis, 1882; pp. 72-73.

[18] In a speech to the Senate of Venice (April 11, 1581), Antonio Possevino mentions the efforts of Pope Gregory XIII. to found seminaries for the training of Russian Seminarists: "Et Sua Santita havena tratto fuori diversi giovini, instituito varii seminarii, et andava conquesti semi fomentando in modo quel picciolo lume, che si era introdotto, che poteva sperar-

to accept the proposals of Rome. His purpose was to feign the desire of the reunion of the Churches in order to turn the influence of the Papacy to his own profit in his feuds with Poland.[19]

The Greek Orthodox Patriarchs were informed of the attempts of Possevino, and strove to reëstablish their influence over the Russian clergy by taking an active part in the intellectual awakening of the Russian clergy. In 1585, Silvestr, Patriarch of Alexandria, in a letter addressed to Feofan Ivanovich (1584-1598) urged him to open a school where pupils might be instructed in the Greek language and "draw from many divine books all the divine wisdom of the Orthodox Church."[20]

The question of ecclesiastical schools in Russia was taken up by the Synod of Constantinople in 1593. The Greek hierarchy confirmed the institution of the Russian Patriarchate and exhorted the Russian Bishops in every possible way to help the candidates for ordination to study the Holy Scriptures and the liturgical books. Meletios Pighas, Patriarch of Alexandria (1590-1601), wrote a personal letter to the Tsar, soliciting him to establish a Greek school, "a living sparkle of sacred learning," for, in the East, the source of wisdom seemed near being drained.[21] The letter, according to Russian writers, testifies to the zeal of the Eastern Patriarchs for the cultural development of Russia and the characteristics of the learning they wished to bring to Moscow. They wanted to spread Greek ecclesiasticism of the strictest type as a means of consolidating the Orthodox Church and traditions not only in Russia, but in the whole Christian East.[22]

In 1600 Sigismond III., king of Poland, expressed to Boris Godunov (1598-1605) his desire to build Catholic churches for Poles

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sene l'aiuto di molte anime et luce a piú lontane provincie." Paul Pierling, "Bathory et Possevino. Documents inédits sur les rapports du Saint Siège avec les Slaves," Paris, 1887; p. 45. In his "Missio moscovitica" he alludes to the foundation of a Russian seminary at Vilna: "Vilnam P. Possevinus discessit, ut ibi Pontificis maximi auctoritate Ruthenorum, Moscorumque seminarium institueret, qui ad eos alendos 1200 scutatorum annuum vectigal attribuit." Ed. cit.; p. 58.

[19] L'intentione del Mosco non era in altro, ch di liberarsi dalla guerra. "Mémoire du Cardinal de Come au secretaire de la Propagande" (1585), Pierling, "Possevini Missio moscovitica;" p. 113.

[20] A. Muravev, "Snocheniia Rossii s Vostokom po dielam tzerkovnym" ("The Relations Between Russia and the East in Ecclesiastical Matters"); Petrograd, 1858; Vol. I.; p. 158.

[21] I. Malychevsky, "Aleksandriiskii Patriarkh Meletii Pighas" ("Meletios Pighas, Patriarch of Alexandria"); Kiev, 1872; t. II.; p. 10.

[22] M. Smentzovsky, "Bratia Likhudy: Opyt izsliedovaniia iz istorii tzerkovnago prosviessheniia i tzerkovnoi zhizni kontza XVII. i nachala XVIII. viekov" ("The Brothers Likhudy: An essay on the history of ecclesiastical culture and ecclesiastical life at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century"); Petrograd, 1899; p. 4.

in Moscow, Pskov, Novgorod and Smolensk; and he wanted to establish along with them schools for Russian pupils, on the pattern of Polish schools in Poland and Lithuania.[23] Boris Godunov declined the proposal. He had already conceived the plan of endowing Moscow with a Russian university and calling to Russia learned men from Western Europe. In 1602 he sent some young Russians to England and Germany. His plans, however, met with open hostility from the clergy. They called his attention to the fact that, in spite of her considerable extent, Russia already possessed unity of faith and custom. If the divergencies of languages were introduced, Russia would face the danger of internal dissolution and the loss of time-honored concord.[24] "The pious spirit of antiquity," comments the Russian historian of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Moscow, "took alarm at Western novelties. For that reason our culture at the beginning of the eighteenth century was confined to a little more than the study of the A B C."[25]

The first Russian ecclesiastical school for the higher education arose in 1632, under Patriarch Filaret (1619-1634). "A few years ago," wrote Adam Olearius in his "Reisebeschreibung," "with the consent of the Patriarch, there was established in Moscow a public school, where the Greek monk Arsenius taught Greek and Latin."[26] Probably there is a confusion of names. The master of Greek in this school, set up by Filaret and closed at his death, was a certain Joseph, protosyncellus of the Patriarchate of Alexandria.[27] In 1645 Theophanes, Metropolitan of Patras, went to Moscow as legate of the Patriarch of Constantinople and exhorted Tsar Alexiei Mikhailovich (1645-1676) to set up a school and to charge a Greek scholar with the teaching of Greek, theology and philosophy. The

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[23] Theodor Pavlovich Elenev, "Istoriko-kriticheskoe razsuzhdenie o stepeni vliianiia Polshi na yazyk i na ustroistvo uchlissh v Rossii" ("Historical and Critical Inquiry Into the Degree of the Influence of Poland Upon the Language and the Organization of Schools in Russia"); Petrograd, 1848. Id., "Polskaia tzivilizatziia i eia vliianie na Zapadnuiu Rus" (Polish Civilization and Its Influence Upon West Russia); Petrograd, 1863.

[24] Karamzin, "Istoriia Gosudarstva rossiiskago" ("History of the Russian Empire"); Vol. XI.; Petrograd, 1824; pp. 88-91.

[25] Sergiei Smirnov," Istoriia Moskovskoi slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii" (History of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy of Moscow"); Moscow, 1855; pp. 3-4. This is the only Russian work which treats of the earliest period of the history of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Moscow. We shall have frequent occasion to use it.

[26] Ed. cit., p. 297.

[27] Sergiei Bielokurov, "Adam Olearii o Greko-Latinskoi chkolie Arseniia Greka" ("Adam Olearius and His Report on the Greco-Latin School of Arsenius the Greek"); Moscow, 1888. V. Kolosov, "Staretz Arsenii Grek" ("The Monk, Arsenii the Greek"). "Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.," 1881; t. CC., XVII; pp. 67-93.

Archimandrite Benedict was chosen as teacher. He was a starving "Græculus," who because of ceaseless complaint of the smallness of his salary finally earned an imperial safe conduct for an inglorious return to his native country.

In 1649 Arsenius the Greek went to Moscow and undertook instruction in rhetoric in an ecclesiastical school. He also took an active part in the correction of liturgical books. The latter enterprise encompassed his ruin. He was accused of altering the Christian Orthodox faith, and condemned to lifelong exile into the monastery of Solovka.[28] It was at this epoch that the Catholic influence began to play an important part in the intellectual formation of the Russian clergy. The earliest seminaries and academies of both Little and Great Russia are due to the powerful scientific impulse given by the schools of the Society of Jesus in Poland and Lithuania. It was at Vilna that in 1570 the Jesuits founded a famous academy, which was transformed into a university in 1578.[29] The Vilna academy played an important part in the history of Polish and Lithuanian culture. The activity of the Jesuits put an end to the tranquil indifference of the Russian Orthodox clergy. At Kiev, Peter Moghilas (1633-1646) established an academy, which became a flourishing centre of culture for orthodox Little Russia. The academy prospered under a frankly Latin régime of instruction and discipline. Philosophy and theology were taught in Latin, and on several points, for instance, in the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and the sacramental value of the Eucharistic formula, the best scholars of the academy subscribed to the conclusions of Latin theologians.[30] Russian writers, unwillingly or willingly, are forced to recognize that the literary revival of Great Russia was the product of Catholic influences which reached Moscow through Malorussian channels. "South and Western Russia, earlier than Northern Russia, glistened in the sunshine of enlightenment, and that happiness is due to unhappy circumstances—it is due to the proximity of Papalism. North Russia felt the need of the sword to repulse the foe more than any necessity for verbal weapons; and

[28] Smentzovsky, op. cit., pp. 7-8. N. Th. Kapterev, "Sliedstvennoe dielo ob Arsenie Grekie i ssylka ego v Solovetzkii monastyr" ("The Trial of Arsenius the Greek, and His Exile to the Monastery of Solovka Island"), in "Lectures of the Society of Friends of Spiritual Progress" ("Chtenia obsshestva liubitelei dukhovnago prosviessheniia"); 1881; t. II., pp. 70-96.

[29] M. Balinski, "Dawna Akademja Wilenska" ("The Ancient Academy of Vilna"); Petrograd, 1862.

[30] See our work, "Theologia dogmatica orthodoxa," Vol. I., pp. 154-156, and our notice, "De Academiae ecclesiasticae kioviensis doctrina Beatam Mariam Virginem praemunitam fuisse a peccato originali, Acta II. conventus Velehradensis;" Prague, 1910, pp. 39-41.

besides, the ancient prejudices against the West had not disappeared."[31]

In 1640 Peter Moghilas applied to Tsar Mikhail Romanov (1613-1645) for the foundation in Moscow of a monastery of Malorussian learned monks in order to set up an academy like that of Kiev. His request was not granted. His wishes, however, were fulfilled nine years later, when Prince Theodor Mikhailovich Rtischev founded near Moscow the monastery of St. Andrew,[32] and gathered there thirty Malorussian monks. They opened a school for the teaching of Greek and Russian, rhetoric and philosophy. At the same time Tsar Alexiei Mikhailovich asked Silvestr Kosov, Metropolitan of Kiev (1647-1657), to send to Moscow some learned monks to help in the translation of the Bible and in the Greek education of Russian pupils. The choice of the Metropolitan fell upon Arsenii Satanovsky, Epiphanii Slavinetzky and Damaskin Ptitzky. They applied themselves to the translation of Greek and Latin books into Russian. At the same time they found pupils eager to assimilate the knowledge of their masters. Thanks to their influence, several young men of Moscow, yearning after a higher education, went to Kiev. The success of the Malorussian monks awoke suspicions as to the firmness of their orthodox beliefs. They were looked upon with feelings of distrust, for they did not confine their teaching to the explanation of liturgical books. Prince Rtischev was accused of heresy and Kiev defamed as a seat of heterodox novelties. The hostility of the conservative element of the Muscovite orthodoxy grew to such an extent that the Malorussian monks were about to be expelled from Moscow had not Patriarch Nicon taken them under his protection. He transferred Slavinetzky and Ptitzky to the monastery of Miracles (Chudov Monastery), and confided to the former the leadership of a school, which lasted till 1674.

The above quoted monks represented the so-called Greek tendency in the Russian Church. They were strongly opposed to Latin infiltrations in orthodox theology. Although well acquainted with the Western theological literature, they boasted of an unshakable fidelity to Byzantine religious traditions. Soon, however, the Latin tendency made its way into Moscow. Its best representative was also a learned Malorussian monk, Simeon Sitianovich Polotzky (d. 1680). He established himself at Moscow and started spreading his teaching, wholly imbued with the spirit of Western Latin culture. He took up his quarters at the monastery of the Saviour

[31] S. Smirnov, op. cit., p. 3.

[32] P. Stroev, "Spiski ierarkhov . . . rossiiskaia tzerkvi" ("List of the Hierarchy of the Russian Church"); Petrograd, 1877; pp. 245-246.

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(Spassky monastery). A school was opened there for the teaching of the Latin language. Pupils were instructed in Latin versification and eloquence. The most celebrated student of the school, Silvestr Medviedev, wrote beautiful Latin poems and orationes.[32] The antagonism between the two tendencies—the Latin and the Greek—fills the literary history of Russia in the three last decades of the seventeenth century. While Epiphane Slavinetzky in the Chudov monastery fostered a school of rigid followers of the Greek tradition in the Russian Church, Simeon Polotzky quite neglected the study and the teaching of the Greek language at the school of the Spassky monastery.

The Greek tendency had an ephemeral ascendency in 1660-1670. It was due especially to the efforts of Paisos Ligarides, a Greek metropolitan of Gaza. He witnessed in Moscow all the difficulties due to the liturgical reform of Patriarch Nikon and frankly declared that their origin was to be found in the religious ignorance of both the clergy and people. "I inquired," he wrote, "into the roots of those spiritual diseases which now affect the Christian body of the Russian Empire and I strove to discover whence came that flood of heresies, the ruin of the whole Church, and at last, after a thorough meditation, I found that all evil springs up from two sources, namely, from the lack of libraries and public schools. If any one asks me what are the bulwarks of the Church and State, I could answer: First, the schools; secondly, the schools; third, the schools."[34] Paisios wished Moscow to become the centre of intellectual life for Russia and the whole Christian East. "It is with bitter tears that I am forced to avow that in the Eastern Church culture is on the wane. The Greeks are under the yoke and fiercely persecuted. Even in the seat and centre of tyranny the schools have been closed." Paisios urged Russian Bishops and monks to coöperate in the education of the younger clergy, for learned priests would restore the prestige of the Russian Church.[35] The exhortations of Paisios met with the full approval and support of Paisios, Patriarch of Alexandria, and Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, who

[33] L. N. Maikov, "Ocherki iz istorii russkoi literatury XVII. i XVIII. stolietii" ("Essays on the History of Russian Literature in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries"); Petrograd, 1889, pp. 1-162. J. Kozlovsky, "Silvestr Medviedev: Ocherk iz istorii russkago prossviessheniia i obsshestvennoi zhizni v kontzie XVII. vieka" ("Silvestr Medviedev: An Historical Sketch of Russian Culture and Social Life at the End of the Seventeenth Century"); Kief, 1894.

[34] S. Smirnov, p. 6.

[35] N. I. Subbotin, "Materialy dlia istorii raskola" ("Materials for the History of the Raskol"); Moscow; Vol. IX.; pp. 280-284.

visited Moscow in 1666. In a sermon, written by them, and pronounced by Hilarion, Archbishop of Riazan, on Christmas Day, 1666, they warned the Russians "to search for learning, the eye of the wise and the rule of human life." They complained of the ignorance of the Greek language in Moscow, while the heretic nations of the West and even the semi-barbarous Arabs were learning it. They urged the Tzar to open schools for the teaching of the Greek, Latin and Russian languages and invited the pastors of the Church to give their material support to such a foundation.[36]

The warnings of the Greek Patriarchs were not altogether without effect. Alexiei Mikhailovich at least decided upon the foundation of a Greek ecclesiastical school in Moscow. The Russian Patriarch, Joasaph II. (1667-1672), threatened with anathema the opponents of the plans of the Tzar. Yet nothing was done to realize them. The attempts were renewed under Theodor Alekseevich (1645-1676) and Patriarch Joachim (1674-1690). At this time they were crowned with success. First of all, a Greek school was founded in 1679 and placed under the direction of a Greek monk, Timotheus. Both the Tsar and Patriarch visited it almost every week and rewarded the students with clothes and money. Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, wrote a congratulatory letter to the Tsar. He magnified the excellency of the Greek language in the history of sacred literature: "The Gospels and the letters of the Apostles were written in Greek; in Greek language were drawn up the acts of the Councils and the writings of the fathers and all the sacred books of the Church. It is then a work of God to learn Greek. The knowledge of Greek will help us to understand the books of the orthodox faith as they were written and to interpret them rightly and to keep afar from Latin books, which are crammed with ruses, seduction, heresies and atheism." The Tsar, however, did not feel satisfied with a school frequented only by thirty students. Simeon Polotzky had outlined to him the plan of a higher institution for the education of youth and the Tsar had charged him to draw up its rules. The learned monk wrote the statute of the Academy of Moscow ("Privilegia"). They were modified, probably after his death (1680), by his disciple, Silvestr Medviedev. The goal of Simeon Polotzky was to endow Moscow with a university whose organization would imitate closely that of the Western universities.

According to the statutes, the academy was centered about the Zaikonospassky monastery. New buildings were to be added to it

[36] S. Smirnov, p. 10.

for the teachers and students. Their expenses were to be covered by the income of the above quoted monastery and seven others. The Tsar granted to it large properties of the crown and the privilege of receiving gifts and legacies. The inspector and the professors of the academy were charged with a full control in matters of faith and popular instruction. Students were forbidden to have recourse to private teachers—foreign and heterodox. The inspector and professors were called upon to give testimony to the purity of faith of the teachers coming from abroad. The value of their testimony was so great that without it foreign teachers were liable to expulsion from Russia. They were required also to denounce to the Tsar the disseminators of false doctrines among the people. All recent converts from other denominations were placed under their inspection. If it was proved that they wavered in their orthodox beliefs they were liable to the exile to Terek or to Siberia. If they were found guilty of abjuring the orthodox faith they were unmercifully condemned to be burnt alive.

The academic council was charged also with the supervision of astrologers, fortune-tellers and impious books and writings. Among the forbidden books the privilegia mention Polish and Latin, German, Lutheran and Calvinistic books. All of them were to be annihilated by the academy. The proprietors of books of the former class, once their guilt was shown by competent authority, were to be condemned without reprieve to be burnt alive, while possessors of books of the second class were also declared to deserve an unmerciful chastisement. Stern judgment was to be passed upon those Russians and foreigners convicted of bad faith, that is those who rejected the worship of the saints, icons and relics. All these transgressors were doomed to perish at the stake. Even Roman Catholics who might pass over to Protestantism were to be punished by exile to Siberia.

After what we have quoted from the statutes of the Academy of Moscow, we need hardly comment upon its character. We may, however, cite the word of the great historian of Russia, Sergii Solovev: "The school of free knowledge was organized for the defense of the orthodox faith, which was confronted with dangers from every side. Its foes, the followers of Luther and Calvin, were gathering at Moscow, many of them in the Government's service. The Orthodox Church, therefore, felt the duty of fighting unweariedly against them. The chief weapon of defense was the academy. It was invested with the right of following all the movements of the enemy and of sounding the alarm at the first shadow of danger.

According to the scheme of Simeon Polotzky the academy was not only a school, but a terrible tribunal of inquisition. It was enough for the inspector and professors to pronounce the words: "He is guilty of heterodoxy," and the funeral pile was at once fired for the culprit.[37]

F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.

Lawrence, Mass.

[37] Op. cit., XIII., ch. ii., p. 885. See also: A. V. Gorsky, "O dukhovnykh uchilisshakh v Moskie v XVII. stolietie" ("The Ecclesiastical Schools at Moscow in the Seventeenth Century"), Moscow, 1845; Nikolai Alexievich Lavrovsky, "O drevne-russkikh uchilisshakh" ("The Ancient Russian Schools"), Kharkov, 1854; D. Mordovtzev, "O russkikh chkolnykh knigakh XVI. v." ("The Text-books in the Russian Schools of the Seventeenth Century"), Moscow, 1862; M. Pogodin, "Obrazovanie i gramotnost v drevnem periodie russkoi istorii" ("Culture and Instruction in the Ancient Russia"), "Zhurnal Ministertsvago russkago prosviessheniia, 1871, C. L. III; N. A. Lebedev, "Istoricheskii v gliad na uchrezhdenie uchilissh" ("Historical Outlook on the Foundation of Schools"), Petrograd, 1874; S. H. Brailovzky, "Ocherki iz istorii prosviessheniia v Moskovskoi Rusi XVII. v." ("Essays on the History of Culture in Muscovite Russia in the Seventeenth Century"), Moscow, 1890; N. Th. Kapterev, "O Greko-Latinskikh chkolakh v Moskvie v XVII. viekie do otkrytiia Slaviano-Greko-Latinskoi Akademii" ("The Greek and Latin Schools at Moscow in the Eighteenth Century Before the Opening of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy"); "Pribavleniia" ("Supplements to the Russian Version of the Writings of the Fathers"), Moscow, 1889, t. 11, pp. 588-681; Id., "Kharakter otnoshenii Rosii k pravoslavnomu Vostoku v XVII. i XVIII. stolietiiakh" ("The Character of the Relations Between Russia and the Orthodox East in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries"); Sergiev Posad, 1914 (second edition).

THE AMPLEFORTH BENEDICTINES.

THE foundation of the Benedictine monastery at Ampleforth, in Yorkshire, of recent years erected into an abbey, dates back to the year 1802, when the dispossessed community (formed of English with Spanish and Cassinese Benedictines) of St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard, or Dieulward (Dieu le garde), in Lorraine, who were driven towards the close of the eighteenth century to seek a refuge in England after being dispersed by the French Revolution, were reunited at Ampleforth under Prior Marsh, the last prior of Dieulouard. The seizure and sequestration of that monastery, the expulsion of the religious, commonly called "the black monks," to distinguish them from the white-robed Cistercians, their escape from the European continent, their return to England and their reëstablishment in that country, which is so much indebted to the Benedictines since the landing of the first monk missioners of that order at Ebbsfleet, over thirteen hundred years ago, form a most interesting episode in the history of modern monasticism.

"Of the orders and congregations now established in England," said the late Bishop Hedley, himself an illustrious Benedictine, at the opening of the new college on November 17, 1886, "the Anglo-Benedictines alone, I suppose, can claim a strict continuity with the period before the great religious revolution. The others have renewed themselves from abroad or they have come into the country in the freshness of their youth. But the old English Benedictine congregation has never altogether died out. November 21 is with us a dies memorabilis—the anniversary of the day in 1607 when the last monk of Westminster Abbey passed on the religious habit to those who founded the present congregation. And the English Benedictines have, in many respects, gone through the hardest times of any. Other orders had been outcasts from their native land and had suffered and bled for the faith; other orders had struggled to keep up their nurseries upon the continent. But the Benedictines were peculiar in this, that having been driven to establish their homes abroad because they were Catholics, they were also driven back to England because they were Englishmen. The great French Revolution, which destroyed so much, uprooted the English Benedictine mother homes in France and Lorraine, and eventually in Prussia; the members of St. Gregory's, St. Lawrence's, St. Edmund's and Lambspring had to flee for protection to the very land which had exiled them. It will be readily understood that they fled in disorder. For many years the two communities of St. Gregory's and St. Lawrence's lived together under the roof of a Catholic baronet in

Shropshire. Then St. Lawrence's wandered from spot to spot in Lancashire until at last they settled in Yorkshire, in the small presbytery or lodge which forms the centre of the present monastery. Community life in its essentials has been carried on from that day to this. The divine office has never ceased, the succession of priors has been kept up, the discipline has been maintained, the holy rule and the constitution has been observed. But the country was very Protestant; it was impossible at first even to wear the habit. The resources of the community were small; the church, chapter house, refectory, cloister existed only in name, and the complete monastic circle of observances, on which so much of the monk's happiness and progress depend, necessarily remained for many years incomplete. . . . This silver jubilee finds the principle of order thoroughly recognized, the details clearly worked out and the system in the most admirable operation. Thus after nearly a century—for it will be a hundred years in a year or two since St. Lawrence fled from Dieulouard and became a wanderer in England—after nearly a century of trials, weakness and opposition and uncertainty, we stand on this memorable day in a definite and legitimate position, resting upon the old traditions, in touch with the Holy See and the hierarchy, with our way straight before us to do what is in us for the monastic ideal and the carrying to our countrymen of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

The collegiate church of St. Lawrence, Dieulouard, a town in Lorraine—one of the provinces recovered from France by Germany as one of the results of the war of 1870—had been vacant since Cardinal Prince Charles of Lorraine had, with the sanction of Pope Clement VIII., removed the canons who served it, with all its revenues, to the then newly created cathedral of Nancy. On December 2, 1606, the Rev. Arthur Pitts, an English priest, obtained a grant of it from His Eminence and the dean and chapter of Nancy to form a monastery for the expatriated English Benedictines, who were to labor for the re-conversion of their native land and the renovation of their order in England. Eighteen months afterwards the Rev. Dr. Gifford, a distinguished secular priest, resigned the deanery of Lisle to become a Benedictine and was admitted to the habit on July 11, 1608, at the Abbey of St. Remigius at Rheims for the new house of St. Lawrence, Dieulouard. Within a month two other secular priests, Rev. Lawrence Reyner and Rev. Francis Walgrave, and two laymen, Joseph Haworth and Robert Bapthorpe, entered the novitiate at the same abbey for the same purpose. Two of these, Fathers Reyner and Walgrave, accompanied by Father Nicholas Fitzjames, a monk

lately professed at Douai, who was appointed their superior and novice-master, proceeded to Dieulouard to make a beginning of the new monastery and to live conventually. On their arrival, on August 9, 1608, the eve of the feast of St. Lawrence, they found the church destitute of any ornaments and the house very small and entirely unfurnished, so that they were obliged to live in the town until it was made habitable. On April 23, 1609, Father Gabriel Gifford arrived, and on completion of his year's probation, July 11, was the first to make his profession as a member of St. Lawrence's community. He was soon after appointed the first prior of the monastery which for half a century continued to be noted for its strict observance of religious discipline.

Father Bennet Stapylton, cathedral prior of Canterbury, who had been twice prior of St. Gregory's, died at Dieulouard on August 4, 1680, in the eleventh year of his presidency and the fifty-eighth year of his age. In 1681 there were ninety-eight priests belonging to the Anglo-Benedictine congregation, of whom thirty-four had been professed at St. Gregory's, fifteen at St. Lawrence's, twenty-two at St. Edmund's and twenty-two at Lambspring. At the twenty-fifth general chapter, in 1717, Father Lawrence Champney was elected prior of Dieulouard. Soon after his installation the monastery was completely destroyed by fire, along with all its archives.* The religious were quartered in other convents

*In the archives of the Abbey of St. Dominic de Silos, in Old Castile, Spain, among other records of great interest to English Benedictines, such as the Capitular Acts of the Valladolid Congregation, with which the English monasteries for a time were intimately connected, are several original letters from a Princess of Lorraine to the Spanish superior in reference to the foundation of St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard. "As authentic records of its princely founder's intentions with regard to our community," says the *Ampleforth Journal* (April, 1897), "these are bound to be interesting and valuable; they are only waiting the reverent hand of some Laurentian pilgrim to recall them to vitality and the light."

of the congregation, and four years were to elapse before a few could be again collected at Dieulouard. Father Francis Watmough, elected prior by the chapter of 1721, built a new and more commodious monastery on the site of the old one, and after an interval of six years novices were admitted and regular discipline restored. He held office for twelve years and was reëlected by the chapter of 1733, when he suddenly died the day after the chapter closed. He is numbered amongst the greatest benefactors of his convent. He came to its assistance when it was a heap of ruins and on the eve of being dissolved; he left it in a more flourishing state in spirituals and temporals than it had been since its foundation. In 1725 the community consisted of three priests, two professed monks and three lay Brothers.

Not many years elapsed before it fell a prey to a still more destructive force than fire. Stormy times for monks and monarchs, for priests and princes were coming. The distant rumblings of the revolutionary tornado which ended in the downfall of the Bourbons and the Bastile must have been heard even in the silence of those Benedictine cloisters far away in Lorraine. On the 8th of March, 1793, the convention passed a decree ordering the sale of the goods belonging to the Order of Malta, and in general whatever belonged to any corporation, whether secular or regular, such as all colleges and seminaries. To this general confiscation, however, were attached two articles—the first excepted the English from the decree, and the second declared that the convention intended to issue another in a short time to decide what was to be done with the English establishments. As it was evident to Father Richard Marsh, the prior, that the doom of the monastery was approaching, he endeavored to sell some of the land belonging to it; but as soon as this came to the knowledge of the department, orders were issued forbidding any body to purchase and declaring all such purchases to be void, should any be made. Each particular member of the department, it was added, might be made personally responsible for whatever was wanting in case the convention passed a decree for the sale of the property belonging to the English. Baffled in this attempt, the prior quietly removed the silver, linens and some of the books from the library; but when he began to sell some of the best horses, the municipal authorities hastened to obtain power to prevent him. His movements were closely watched, and the district officials, who had already been accused of being too favorable to the Benedictines, determined not to expose themselves any longer to this reproach, ordering a squad of twenty-five men to be placed round the monastery, with strict instructions not to let anything be removed. In vain the prior remonstrated. Though it was admitted that the order was not strictly legal, he was informed that many measures were necessary for the public safety which were not positively authorized by law. Notwithstanding their vigilance, the prior had two of the church bells taken down and sent to Toul with some other articles to be sold. The men on guard after a while found it irksome duty to be keeping watch, and as the vintage time was approaching gradually withdrew of their own accord.

The aspect of the times growing daily worse, the prior considered it necessary to provide for the safety of his community. A decree was passed in September, 1793, allowing all children of foreigners who were in France for the purpose of education, and not otherwise,

to be sent back to their parents. Upon the strength of this he solicited passports for them, but was told that the decree had not yet been sent officially. When it was subsequently received, he again applied for and obtained them for all the community except himself, although it was evident that grown-up members were not actually included in the decree. But no opposition was raised by the municipality, as they were anxious to get rid of them in order that they might obtain possession of the monastery, or at least have the administration of it in their own hands. On the following day all the monks left in two parties, except the prior (Father Marsh), Father Maurus Barret, an old, infirm priest; Father Oswald Talbot, Father John Dawber and the lay brothers, who were for remaining a little longer and who proceeded without delay to solicit certificates of hospitality, in accordance with the decree of the convention of September 22, intending to leave in case these were refused and to make use of their passports, which were available for a fortnight. With much difficulty, however, they succeeded in procuring them; so, considering themselves now secure, they decided to remain. But in three or four days they discovered their error when it was too late.

On Saturday, the 12th of October at about half-past 9 at night, the people were notified by beat of drum that every man capable of bearing arms was to present himself at the house of the commandant. The prior, who had retired to his cell for the night, did not pay much heed to this, thinking it was the people assembling for the apprehension of some suspected persons. He withdrew, however, to another room and placed himself at a window from which he could see into the town. Some time before this he had prevailed upon the Mayor, who was favorably disposed, to let him know, if he possibly could, should any orders be received for the arrest of the members of his community. The Mayor, true to his word, had sent his sister to communicate the fatal information; but seeing so many persons about the monastery, she returned without delivering her message, contenting herself with telling the wife of one of the monastery laborers to give notice of what was going to take place. This woman, on seeing the prior at the window, beckoned to him to come down, and told him that orders had arrived to arrest all the monks. Father Marsh, at first incredulous, hesitated. Having so recently received letters of hospitality, he thought it unlikely, but, if true, that it might prevent any one escaping if he alarmed the house; that perhaps he was the only person aimed at, the only one who had any reason to fear, the others having their passports. He therefore quietly quitted the monastery without raising any alarm, telling the porter where he was going to and to let him know later what was

the meaning of this assembling of the people. He concealed himself in a ravine not far from the house. When he heard the rabble making towards the monastery and heard the convent bell rung, he soon perceived that the news was too true; so, lest patrols should be sent after him, he determined to cross the Moselle that night. The town clocks were striking 12 when he reached the riverside, and after crossing the river at a fordable point he repaired to the village where the monastery porter lived. There he learned that upon the rabble breaking into the monastery, they ran at once to his cell, but not finding him there, broke down every closed door on the pretense of searching for him. One of the first places they went to was the church steeple, where, finding two of the bells missing, they gave utterance to the most violent exclamations.

A little above Dieulouard the Moselle divides, and flowing some distance through separate channels, encloses an island nearly two miles in circumference. The prior crossed the second branch of the river in a boat, and about 3 o'clock on Sunday morning reached a small village, where he took up his quarters at the house of a person upon whom he knew he could depend. At daybreak this man, at his request, proceeded to the monastery on the pretext of seeing his brother, who was there, and on his return brought word that Father Oswald Talbot and William Sharrock, a lay Brother, had escaped; that Father John Dawber, Father Maurus Barret, James Johnson, a lay brother, and Charles Allen, a novice, had been conducted to the college at Pont-à-Mousson, to be imprisoned there along with all suspected persons; that the monastery had been given into the custody of the municipality and that guards were posted around it.

On hearing this sad news the prior deliberated whether he should surrender himself a prisoner or try to effect his escape. In either eventuality the most imminent dangers confronted him. To give himself up was almost certain death, as he felt assured he would be tried on the capital charge on account of the removal of the bells, church plate and furniture. To attempt to escape, unprovided with a passport, appeared, owing to his ignorance of the country, the troops stationed along the frontiers and the distance from Germany, almost impracticable. If he should be taken by the military, instant death would probably be his fate, or if brought to trial there was a decree which condemned all foreigners to the guillotine who were taken within two leagues (about six miles) of the frontiers. A third plan which suggested itself to his mind was to remain and try to conceal himself in the country; in that case he would probably die of hunger or at the hands of the revolutionists or of the rabid

populace. Besides, a decree had lately been passed which condemned any one who harbored a foreign resident or concealed any of his property to twenty years' imprisonment in chains, so he considered it would be impossible for him to hide for any length of time, as no one would venture to give him shelter. After weighing the matter well in all its bearings, he resolved to try and escape. Late on a Sunday night he left the house and set out on his hazardous enterprise. His great presence of mind, combined with his natural shrewdness, enabled him to escape from the most imminent perils which beset him on all sides. After a wearisome and anxious journey of some days, he at length reached Treves in safety and there was rejoiced to meet his brethren, who had previously left the country with their passports, as well as Father Oswald Talbot and William Sharrock, the lay Brother who had escaped and joined the others two days before that. From thence he proceeded to Ostend, leaving the remnant of his community behind to await further directions, and from Ostend sailed to Deal, which he reached with a joyful and thankful heart, having narrowly escaped imprisonment and death.

For nearly fifty years after the English Benedictines began to live conventually at Dieulouard, that is from August 9, 1608, the community rose at midnight to recite the divine office, and observed universal abstinence from flesh meat according to the strict letter of the rule of St. Benedict. As it was the only monastery of the congregation which adhered to this rigid discipline, it was brought to the eve of extinction before the superiors would consent to place it on the same footing as the other convents. From that time it gradually revived. One of the Ampleforth monks, who made a pilgrimage to the old home of the Benedictines in Lorraine in 1894, describes the site of the former monastery as undesecrated. A high wall, with a tall gateway in the Place des Moines—the very name of which recalls its monastic associations — marks the northern boundary of the conventual enclosure. A long low building parallel with it is the only relic of the ancient monastery. After the sale in 1795 it was adapted by its purchaser to farm uses. The inner wall of the cloister was pulled down and the first floor made more lofty by the destruction of the story above, but the cloister, buttresses and pointed windows of the cloister and the British arms moulded on the ceiling of the old calefactory remain to show its former monastic and English character. Of the rest—the venerable church and the east and west wings—nothing is left to save the bones of the exiled brethren who died there and were buried near the church in the quadrangle; these remained undisturbed until a few were uncov-

ered, not irreverently, by the gardener of the nuns who purchased the site for a convent and school. Among the relics of olden times which the visitor discovered were a picture of St. Hyacinth which once hung in the refectory of Dieulouard, the great seal of the congregation, Prior Marsh's chair, the complete woodwork of the sacristy used as paneling in a house in the Rue de Metz, carved woodwork from the monastery church, now in the church of Ville du Val, four miles away; a pulpit with reliefs of the four Evangelists, a confessional and an altar with a panel representing the washing of the disciples' feet by our Lord.

The museum at Nancy contains the old Laurentian archives, all the papers found by the revolutionists at the flight of the monks. The history of old St. Lawrence's is there, and much more than its history. The first Laurentian professed at Dieulouard, Dr. Gabriel Gifford, became afterwards Archbishop of Rheims and Primate of France. The old Latin name for Dieulouard was "Dei Custodia"—the keep of God, the place that God protects. Monastic nomenclature has been always noted for its happy expressiveness.

"Probably there never was a sadder day in the history of St. Lawrence's," says a writer in the *Ampleforth Diary,* "than St. Wilfrid's day, in 1793, when the community saw it surrounded by a raging mob of sansculottes, and looking back in their flight, saw the red flames shooting towards the autumn sky; they might well believe that all was over with their beloved monastery. For well nigh two hundred years it had been their home. There, in the heart of Lorraine, in the quiet little town of Dieulouard, they had found the home denied to them in England; it had been their 'refuge in the rock,' their *caverna maceriæ,* while the storm swept over that persecuted land. Unknown to the busy world, its peaceful cloisters had had no ignoble history. They had been the home of saints like Baker, of martyrs like Roe, of great prelates like Gifford, of historians like Reyner and Cressy; and year by year they had sent their quota of earnest men, trained in monastic discipline, to labor and to die for the old faith in the old country. All the traditions of a peaceful past—traditions so formative of monastic spirit—clustered round its walls; all their hopes of a fruitful future centred on them. Now, one bitter day had dashed all their aspirations. The past was swept away; the future was denied them. Their monastery was in flames, and they, a few scattered monks, were fleeing for their lives from a foe that gave no quarter. In twos and threes they landed in England in the last days of 1793 and the early ones of 1794, but it was long before they found 'a

lasting city,' or saw any prospect of a settled home. From Acton Burnell, in Shropshire, where kind friends gave them hospitality, they went to Tranmere, on the Mersey; thence to Mount Vernon, then near Liverpool, now part of that great seaport; from Mount Vernon to Scholes, and then to Parbold Hall, where their footsteps have since been blessed. But it was not till 1802 that they finally settled down in Yorkshire, midway between the villages of Oswald Kirk and Ampleforth, and almost in sight of the old abbeys of Rievaulx and Byland."

On the sequestration or confiscation of the property of the Benedictine monasteries in France at the time of the great French Revolution such members of the communities as were fortunate enough to escape imprisonment returned to England, but they were without adequate means to found new houses. In this emergency Sir Edward Smythe, a baronet, generously offered to receive the Benedictines on his property of Acton Burnell, in Shropshire, and set apart a portion of the family residence for their use. To this house the conventual members of St. Gregory's, Douai, and St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard, had directions to repair, and there they soon began again to live monastically and to open a school for the education of youth. As Father Jerome Sharrock, the prior of St. Gregory's, was in prison in France, Father Richard Marsh, prior of St. Lawrence's, took charge of both communities. They were still residing there when the general chapter in 1794 voted the grateful thanks of the assembled fathers to Sir Edward Smythe for affording the Benedictines an asylum in the distress which had overtaken them. This chapter, before separating, determined that the monastery of St. Lawrence's, formerly at Dieulouard, should be reconstituted at Acton Burnell, and that all the constitutions should be observed as far as circumstances would allow. When Father Sharrock soon after regained his liberty and returned to England it was deemed advisable for many reasons that the two communities should separate. At a meeting held by the president general, Father Cowley, at Vernon Hall, Liverpool, on the 2d of April, 1795—which was attended by Bishop Sharrock, Dr. Brewer, Father Mitchel Lacon and the two priors—it was decided that the community of St. Gregory's should remain at Acton Burnell and the brethren of St. Lawrence's be translated, by an order of the regimen, to Brindle, in Lancashire; but the idea of carrying into effect the latter portion of this decision was afterwards abandoned. In the following September the St. Lawrence's community went to Mr. Chamberlain's house at Tranmere, Birkenhead, where they remained until May, 1796, and then removed to Scoles, near

Prescot, from whence, a little over a year afterwards, they joined President Cowley at Vernon Hall in July, 1797.

While the *familia* of St. Lawrence had been tossed about from place to place, without any prospect of increasing their numbers, the community of St. Gregory's remained stationary at Acton Burnell. It was seriously debated at this time whether it would be worth while for the remnant of the family of St. Lawrence, a veritable *pusillus grex*, to found a new monastery in the island of Madeira. But it was not long before they found a permanent settlement at home, and then the Madeira scheme dropped altogether out of view and was never revived. At the general chapter of 1798 the small community at Vernon Hall consisted of Father Richard Marsh, prior; Fathers Bennet Simpson, James Calderbank, Francis Cooper, Alexius Chew and Dunstan Tarleton; Brother Bede Slater and William Sharrock, lay Brother. At the meeting of the next chapter, in 1802, they were at Parbold, in Lancashire, to which they had removed in the previous May. The most serious apprehensions were entertained whether they would be able to perpetuate themselves as a distinct community or *familia*. They had only an income of £220 a year, and the hope of obtaining new subjects was gradually dying out. The three or four conventual members who composed the community were anxious to be called to the mission. At this critical juncture, the president general, Father Brewer, stepped forward and by his exertions saved St. Lawrence's when on the eve of apparent extinction.

Father Anselm Bolton had been long officiating at Gilling Castle as chaplain to Lady Anne Fairfax. This good Catholic lady, a few years before her death, determined to reward the long and faithful services of her chaplain by building a handsome residence for him at the other side of the valley of Mowbray; and as soon as it was erected she made it over to him, along with thirty-two acres of land, besides settling upon him an annuity of £200 or £300, intending to ultimately endow the place for the maintenance of a succession of Catholic priests there in perpetuity. She died is 1793, bequeathing £2,000 to endow it as a missionary residence. But this sum was claimed by a cousin of hers on the ground of its having been left for "superstitious purposes," and was ultimately given up on condition that £500 willed to the nuns at Cambrai should be secured to them. On the death of his benefactress, Father Bolton left the castle for his new residence, Ampleforth Lodge, where he resided for several years, beautifying the grounds, which were much admired. The Benedictines thought it would

be a very desirable settlement for the St. Lawrence community, if Father Bolton could be induced to give it up, he having originally been professed of the monastery of St. Lawrence. Though he had ceased to mix himself up in the affairs of the order, he had been the recipient of many marks of kindness from Father Fisher, one of the presidents general. As old age crept upon him, his love for his old community and order revived and he consented to Dr. Brewer's proposal to give up his house to form the new monastery of St. Lawrence, saved by his self-sacrifice from threatened extinction. The transfer was completed soon after the chapter of July 29, 1802. Father Bolton retired to Birtley, where he lived with Father Bernard Slater, and died on December 22, 1805. Dr. Brewer took possession the day after the agreement was signed.

Father Anselm Appleton, the prior-elect of the new St. Lawrence's, repaired to Ampleforth some time later to assist in making the changes necessary to adapt the house for the reception of a small community. As soon as these were complete, Father Appleton went to Parbold, where he was installed prior on the 29th of November, and about a fortnight later returned to Ampleforth with Father Alexius Chew and William Sharrock, lay Brother, to commence the new monastery. In the following spring, Brother Clement Rishton, who had finished his noviceship at Lambspring, and who had been privately professed there a member of the house of St. Lawrence after the dissolution of the monastery in Lorraine, with several other promising subjects from the same establishment, arrived. As three of these were sufficiently advanced in their studies to be admitted to the religious habit, Father Bede Slater went to Ampleforth to act as novice master to Brother Alban Molyneux, Brother Augustin Baines and Brother Bennet Glover, who were clothed on the 27th of May, 1803. In the course of the summer they were joined in the novitiate by Brother Gregory Robinson, who had served as a surgeon in the navy, and who was now disposed to embrace the religious life. After three years these four were solemnly professed and were the first fruits of the monastery at Ampleforth. From that time forward a fresh supply of students gradually repaired thither to receive their education, so that at the close of this quadriennium the community of St. Lawrence's was composed of seven monks. At the end of 1814 the community had increased in numbers, and the school had so far progressed as to require the superiors to enlarge the house by the addition of two wings to the original building. It now began to assume the appearance of a regular college. The progress made in forwarding the studies from 1810 to 1814 was brought under the notice of the next chapter, and the prior

and his community received the thanks of the Capitular Fathers for their great and successful exertions. "Soon after the community had settled at Ampleforth Lodge," says a writer in the *School World* for April, 1891, "the celebrated educational reformer, Dr. Von Feinagel, was summoned to take charge of the studies of the boys; consequently the institution rose in public esteem and continued to be for a long time one of the most fashionable Roman Catholic schools in England. In an evil hour for Ampleforth, Dr. Baines in 1829, in order to carry out his great scheme of founding a Catholic university, withdrew some of the ablest of its masters and all the most promising of its students to Prior Park, near Bath. The time was not ripe for the movement, and his attempt failed, but not before it had inflicted a blow on the prospects of the older college, under which it rested for many years. However, the strenuous efforts of the masters at length restored it to its old popularity." "There was once a time," said Bishop Hedley in 1886, "when St. Lawrence's seemed to be bidding for the highest place among the Catholic educational institutions of this country. That was about the year 1829. But our situation, as it has always been against us, was against us then. Some of the best men in the country were tempted to leave us with the hope of setting up in a more favored spot a second Ampleforth monastery and school. I say advisedly 'monastery and school,' for it was many years after they left that at last the leaders of that emigration accepted the secularization which against their will had been procured for them from the Holy See. It is a mere matter of history that St. Lawrence's has never recovered the ground it lost then." The progress Ampleforth has made since those words were uttered and the greater progress it is certain to make tend to reverse that verdict. But this is anticipating. A collegiate church was built from the plans of the late Charles Hansom, of Clifton, in 1854. Its most striking features are a set of Stations of the Cross, exquisitely carved in stone, after the pictures of the great masters; a fine series of carved oak stalls, a high altar of chaste and simple design, with representations of the seven sacraments in the panels, and flanked by statues of the Blessed Virgin and St. Lawrence; six private side chapels with beautifully decorated stone work, a stone rood-screen of graceful design and a stained-glass window in the Lady chapel which depicts the crowning of the Blessed Virgin and is reckoned one of Hardman's masterpieces. The Earl of Carlisle, who married a sister of Monsignor Stanley, presented three valuable oil paintings to the monastery and church.

The foundation stone of a new college was laid on the 11th of July, 1859, the feast of the solemn commemoration of St. Benedict,

by the prior, Very Rev. W. R. Cooper, the hymn of St. Benedict, "Laudibus cives resonent canoris," having been sung as the monks went in procession to the site. The blessing of the great Patriarch of the Monks of the West must have descended upon his English children, for the influx of scholars was so great that, in 1860, the community decided on building a new wing of imposing dimensions. It is in the geometrical Gothic style and was erected in 1862 from the design by Joseph Hansom. Meanwhile, on St. Wilfrid's day, 1852, Ampleforth kept the golden jubilee of its foundation. Immediately after the solemn Mass of thanksgiving a fervid address was delivered from the predella by a member of the community, who, recalling the fact that twice on previous feasts of St. Wilfrid their old monastery of St. Lawrence was burned, said: "Wherefore do we of St. Lawrence's recite on this day the Seven Penitential Psalms to avert a like disaster." Two other addresses were spoken by two other students in the large newly erected cloister before the company assembled to hear various passages of music, selected from the compositions of the great masters, executed by the young collegians in celebration of the day. One of the students who took part in that celebration was the future Bishop of Newport, Dr. Hedley, who in his address on November 17, 1886, on the occasion of the silver jubilee of the opening of the new college, recalled the circumstance in language both playful and pathetic. "It is not the first time," he said, "that I have spoken within these walls on the theme of a jubilee of St. Lawrence's. My first, and, I believe, my only attempt was in 1852, when we kept the golden jubilee of the house's foundtion. But on that occasion I had to speak in verse; on the present I hasten to assure my apprehensive hearers that I intend to use the very plainest of prose. In 1852—and the date recalls many a name that we hear no longer, except each on its own day of the year before the morning "De profundis" in the church—three of us (we were students in rhetoric or poetry) were appointed to treat respectively of the past, the present and the future of alma mater. The gentlemen who had to discuss the past and the future were allowed to employ prose; I believe their orations are still extant in a back number of *The Student*. For some inscrutable reason, the fates—which in a college is equivalent to saying the masters—arranged that "the present" was to be honored in what we fondly in those early days called 'poetry.' I am not sure that I could not see here present, if I presumed to look at him, the reverend and now venerable master who coached me through that poetry." And glancing back at the joys and sorrows, the friendships, the meetings and partings of

those fifty years, the Bishop went on: "Where is the prior who sat in that chair in 1861, when the ode we have heard was sung for the first time? There were five honored Bishops here on that day. Where are four out of the five? Where is the venerable prelate who stood in this very room and delivered a jubilee address, as it is my turn to do to-day? How many of the community—I could name names dear to myself—how many of the students, how many of the guests who gathered then now rest, let us hope, with God? And I recall what affection will never allow me to forget, that at least two of the little choristers who on that day sang that 'alma mater never dies,' have died themselves in their vows and their early priesthood. It is not that these are memories wholly sad. They are pathetic and touching, but they are sweet because they bring back to us our bygone years, our early hopes, the lessons we have learned, the kindnesses which have made our hearts glow, the sorrows which have softened us, and the whole of that varied experience which, like the pressure of a gentle guiding hand, has brought us—may we not say it?—nearer to God." The prior Dr. Hedley alluded to was Dom Wilfrid Cooper; the five Bishops: Bishop Morris, O. S. B. ("the venerable prelate"); Bishop Cornthwaite (then Bishop of Beverley), Bishop Roskell, Bishop Goss and Bishop Amherst. The Bishop of Leeds (Dr. Cornthwaite), whose episcopal silver jubilee was kept on November 10, 1886, pontificated at the High Mass, celebrated in presence of the Bishop of Middlesboro, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the new college, after which the prior, Very Rev. T. A. Burge, received a numerous company in the study hall, where the "Ode to Alma Mater" was sung and the Bishop of Newport delivered the beautiful address from which the above passage is quoted. Bishop Hedley's ode has been set to music by Mr. Oberhoffer, of York, one of the lay professors, who has skilfully elaborated it into a regular cantata.

The golden jubilee of the monastery was followed the next year, May 3, 1853, by the jubilee of the president, Very Rev. Dr. Molyneux, greeted in an address as "the first and eldest offspring of a house which had given to religion many and, they hoped, not unworthy children." Among these the first place is to be assigned to the Rev. Dr. Richard Marsh, the prior of old St. Lawrence's during the stormy times of the French Revolution, and the wanderings of the community over whose interests he watched with fatherly solicitude until they were enabled to settle down in the midst of the Yorkshire wolds and dales. He was prior again from 1806 to 1810, provincial of York from 1806 to 1822, president

general from 1822 to 1826, procurator in Rome from 1829 to 1831; again president and abbot of Westminster from 1837 to 1842, dying in 1843 at Rixton, where he built a chapel. He wrote the "Biographies of the Presidents General of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation" and an account of his escape from France during the Revolution, to which the present writer is indebted for the facts embodied in the narrative of the dissolution of St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard, and the dispersion of the community.

Among other distinguished Amplefordians were Bishop Baines, Monsignor Brindle, V. G., of Clifton and rector of Prior Park, who died in 1871; Father Peter Hutton, of the Order of Charity, who was thirty years rector of Ratcliffe College; Father Moses Furlong, another well-known priest of the Institute of Charity and a great preacher; Monsignor Thompson, of Hexham and Newcastle; Rev. Dr. Rooker, second president of Prior Park; Monsignor Benoni, of Clifton; Monsignor Slater, titular Bishop of Ruspa and Vicar Apostolic of the Mauritius; Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Burgess, Bishop of Clifton; Monsignor Shepherd, of Prior Park; Father Edward Metcalfe, a great linguist, a Benedictine Mezzofanti, who translated the "Garden of the Soul" and other works of Bishop Challenor into Welsh, who went with Dr. Baines to Prior Park, petitioned to be recalled to Ampleforth and died on his way thither in 1847. Father Athanasius Allanson, the annalist of the order, who has left many bulky volumes of manuscripts with unique and valuable information regarding the history of the Catholic Church in England since the Reformation, was a great friend of Dr. Lingard, the historian, to whom he gave material assistance in the compilation of his "History of England," and who died provincial of York in 1876, and Mr. Joseph Holdforth, the first Catholic Mayor of Leeds since pre-Reformation days. Among the most widely known and esteemed of Ampleforth's celebrities are Bishop Hedley, who was hardly ever absent from his beloved alma mater at the annual exhibition week gatherings, and Abbot Bury, one of the most learned Thomists of his day.

Ampleforth has had the advantage of being governed by a succession of priors of great ability, prudence and zeal, each of whom has contributed in some degree to the building up of the great monastic and collegiate institution which is such a valuable possession to the order and such a benefit to Catholic higher education. Mention has already been made of some. Father Adrian Towers, who was prior from 1830 to 1834, was a noted controversalist, who went about the neighborhood delivering lectures on Catholic doctrine and practice and who suffered some ill-treatment at a time

when Catholics and Catholicism were not much in vogue and aggressive Protestantism was everywhere rampant. He was the pioneer of platform lecturers. Father Bede Day, who was prior from 1834 to 1838, was succeeded by Father Anselm Cockshutt (1838-1846), who joined the community in its early days, and during his term of office made extensive plantations on the property, of which the monks now reap the full benefit, and after his priorship, was chaplain to Mr. Philips, of Longworth, Hereford, one of the founders of St. Michael's, Hereford. Father Ambrose Prest (1846-1850) was followed by Father Wilfrid Cooper, the great builder of St. Lawrence's, who erected the beautiful collegiate church, opened in 1857, adorned it in 1860 with four side altars and screens in Caen stone, built the college, opened in 1862—one of the boldest architectural attempts of that day—and resigned, in 1863 owing to ill health. Father Maurus Anderson (1863-1866) erected the statue of St. Benedict in front of the central building, built a stone bridge over the highway and added a clock tower. Father Bede Prest (1866-1874) erected the chancel screen in the church, and, after very arduous and perilous works, made good the structural defects caused by a landslip, which nearly destroyed the new college. He enriched the church plate by the addition of a magnificent Gothic monstrance, constructed a series of hot water baths and purchased and added to the grounds a large farm adjoining the college. Father Stephen Kearney (1874-1880) was succeeded by Father Placid Whittle (1880-1883), who added new choir stalls. After him came Father Basil Hurworth (1883-1885), who was followed by Father Anselm Burge, who was the recipient, on behalf of the community, of a precious relic, the forearm of St. Lawrence, the martyr, presented to the monastery by Bishop Hedley. His long term of office was signalized by most important works, prosecuted with great vigor and resolution, the most notable of which was the erection of the new monastery, begun by him and completed in 1897 by his successor, Right Rev. Joseph Oswald Smith, raised from the rank of prior to that of abbot when, in 1890, the monastery was erected into an abbey by the bull "Diu quidem." It is a spacious building of four stories and basement joined to the old monastery by a cloister, and is of striking architectural beauty. The monastic library, which fills the whole of the basement, contains more than thirty thousand volumes, many of them of extreme rarity. The refectory, lecture halls and priests' rooms are on the first floor, and above are the cells of the monks, forty-eight in all. The present community consists of ten professed monks and sixteen priests, besides the abbot and cloistral

prior. Ampleforth is the lineal descendant and representative of the pre-Reformation Abbey of Westminster, whose last abbot in possession at the time of the dissolution was Feckenham, who, after a long captivity, died a natural death, although the Protestant prelates, who were his practical jailors, clamored for his execution, for which they were rebuked by Elizabeth, not unmindful of the fact that he had saved her life, imperiled during the reign of Mary Tudor. The lineal continuity was preserved through Father Sibert Buckley, the last surviving monk of Westminster Abbey. The titular abbacies of Westminster and York and the cathedral priories of Durham, Worcester, Chester and Rochester are attached to Ampleforth Abbey.

A more suitable site for a monastery or college could not be found in all England. Standing on a gently rising ground, it is well protected from the north and east winds by a barrier of hills—the Hambleton range, while the wood behind forms at once a picturesque background and an additional safeguard. Midway between the ancient Yorkshire villages of Ampleforth and Oswaldkirk, partly in the North Riding and partly in the wapentake of Birdforth, it is "far from the madding crowd," and at the same time within easy reach of postal, telegraphic and railway communication with the outer world. Stretching out before it is the beautiful vale of Mowbray, dominated on the opposite side by Gilling Castle, the historic seat of the Fairfaxes. Newburgh Park lies to the west, and not far distant are the still magnificent ruins of Byland Abbey, founded by Roger de Mowbray in 1134 for twelve monks of Furness Abbey, and to which, after he returned from the Crusades, he retired, and where he died and was buried under the arch on the south side of the chapter house, near his mother. The De Mowbrays were also patrons of Rielvaux Abbey, the parent house of the Cistercian Order in Yorkshire, founded by Sir Walter Espec, whose son and heir, who was killed by a fall from a horse, resolved "to make Christ heir of part of his domains," and endowed three monasteries, that of Rielvaux, another at Kirkham and a third at Warden, in Bedfordshire. The De Mowbrays, an old Catholic family, whose head bears the title of Earl of Mowbray and Stourton, have always befriended the monks, the later scions of that house receiving their education at Ampleforth. The Hon. Mrs. Anne Fairfax, to whom the Benedictines owed their settlement at Ampleforth, was a descendant of the famous General Fairfax, a prominent figure in the Cromwellian epoch. The Fairfaxes trace their descent from the knightly family of the De Ettons, sprung from the Norman Ivo de Vesey, who held their estate originally from the

Barons Mowbray, subject to the usual conditions of vassalage. The Rev. Alexander de Etton, who died without issue in 1447, was the last Lord of Gilling. The estate was entailed on the Fairfax family, in whose possession it has continued ever since. The Barons Fairfax, of Cameron, who emigrated to America, descended from a junior branch of this family. The celebrated General Fairfax, of the Parliamentary forces under the Commonwealth, was created Viscount Fairfax of Emly, in Ireland.

The educational progress of Ampleforth has steadily kept pace with its material growth. It is a fine school, representative of the traditions of a great order historically linked with the culture of literature and the fine arts. The intellectual needs of the youth of the upper and middle classes are amply provided for in a comprehensive curriculum, in which the *utile* and the *dulce* are judiciously combined, the training which fits them for the Church or the world, for ecclesiastical or professional spheres of activity to which they may choose to devote their well-developed talents, as well as those lighter accomplishments, such as music, of which some of the monks are skilled adepts. Music is, indeed, one of its special features, as the concerts which diversify the interesting proceedings during exhibition week amply testify, while special attention is devoted to the thorough study of the Greek and Latin classics, the importance of which for the full development of such literary aptitudes as the pupils may possess and the acquisition of ripe scholarship Bishop Hedley, a high authority, was never weary of emphasizing. The full complement of students is about one hundred and fifty. About thirteen or fourteen monks are engaged in teaching, assisted by six well-qualified lay masters, some of whom are graduates of one or other of the two great English universities, Oxford and Cambridge. As might be expected in the teaching of an order which has for centuries contributed so largely to European literature the tone is distinctly literary and cultured. The *Ampleforth Journal*, which is issued three times a year, and both in letterpress and illustrations is fully abreast of the best magazine literature of the day, is evidence of this, which no one who relishes good writing, tinctured by what Dr. Hedley called "a delicate Laurentian flavor," will gainsay.

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Dublin, Ireland.

THE SYMPHONY OF THE "HOURS."

TABLE OF PSALMS AT LAUDS.

Monday		Tuesday		Wednesday		Thursday		Friday		Saturday	
I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.
46	50	95	50	96	50	97	50	98	50	149	50
—		—		—		—		—		—	
5	5	42	42	64	64	89	89	142	142	91	91
28	28	66	66	100	100	35	35	84	84	63	63
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dav.	Isaiah	Tob.	Ezech.	Judith	Anna	Jer.	Moses	Isaia	Habac.	Eccl.	Moses
—		—		—		—		—		—	
116	116	134	134	145	145	146	146	147	147	150	150

—Signifies the *new* psalms and canticles introduced into Lauds.

IT may be taken for granted that when the new Psalterium was being planned the scope of every psalm was carefully borne in mind. Even a cursory glance at the accompanying table will suffice to show that they were not always set down in their numerical sequence—which might very easily have been done, and in fact is the case in Vespers, and a closer investigation will be found to reveal much that is of real practical interest, much that will aid the priest and all who pray or sing the Office in their prayerful endeavor to fulfill the obligation "attente ac devote." The object of this paper is to seek out some at least of the devotional reasons which seem to have governed the selection of the various psalms that are now allocated to the "Horae Diurnae," a quest which one may reasonably regard as justifiable where the numerical sequence is plainly abandoned. The reconstruction of the Breviary did not resolve itself into a question merely of building up six new Offices, each to take about one hour to recite, splitting up long psalms and fitting in short ones so as to ensure their appearance somewhere, and thus taking in the whole ground covered by the 150 psalms. Certainly the mechanical measurement of each day's Office was not overlooked and the numerical sequence was not arbitrarily broken up; but both these "desiderata" have been most skilfully retained while securing at the same time the fullest measure of devotional adaptability.

Before examining the Hours with the psalms in detail it may be well to note the general requirements of the new scheme as compared with the old. The framers of the Office found that ninety-seven places or sections of "Hours" had to be supplied; namely, sixteen for Lauds, nine for Prime and eighteen each for Terce, Sext, None and Complin. For this purpose they had at their disposal fifty-six out of the ninety-two psalms in the old Matins; five were borrowed from the old Vespers and four were available from the Sunday Office, making sixty-five in all. These are scientifically distributed through the week, being divided up into two or

even three parts so as to fit into the ninety-seven sections above mentioned.

LAUDS.

We may begin with Lauds (Feria Secunda) as being the first section that called for rearrangement, though the first two borrowed psalms, vi. and vii., are held over till Complin. No less than seventeen psalms were taken from the old Matins and allocated elsewhere before the first new Lauds psalm was selected, namely, Psalm xlvi.: "Omnes gentes plaudite," from Tuesday Matins. After that, eleven are taken from the same source and five (those beginning with Lauda-Laudate) from the old Vespers. All are carefully chosen because of their distinctive "Lauds" character. From beginning to end they throb with joy and holy gladness. "Omnes gentes plaudite" is as it were the text, the main theme of a wonderful symphony which is worked out all through the week's Lauds with profuse wealth of harmony. All nations are summoned together as with a clarion call of victory that resounds through the valleys, echoes from hill to hill and reëchoes with triumphant acclaim through the length and breadth of the future kingdom of Christ; they are to glorify God for His mighty works, for His mercy that endureth forever, for His inscrutable justice, for His infinite majesty; they are to confess to Him in the language of praise and gratitude, remembering as they hasten to the Temple with the first fruits of flock and field that they are but anticipating the yet greater solemnity of the coming of Him who should be the first fruits of them that sleep—even Christ the Messiah, who was to purchase freedom from captivity, to bring peace and salvation and lead His flock into rich pastures, the land of hope, flowing with milk and honey.

The inspired Psalmist's masterly development of this "Leitmotif" of praise is happily made much more prominent for us now that the obvious Lauds' psalms are brought into their proper atmosphere, focusing as it were the harmonies and giving us all the best psalmodic counterpoint on the leading theme. Nor is this all. It is not as if these psalms of praise were simply a perpetual repetition of the same theme in different colors; there is, on the contrary, a constant evocation of new shapes, fresh ideas that spring spontaneously from the fountain-head, at times perhaps apparently disconnected and arbitrary, but, in fact, all coördinated as secondary and subsidiary themes suggested by the original and woven into its texture with an ever-growing interest.

The central idea is of course that Lauds—known in the early centuries as the Laudes Matutinae—was the early morning song with which the man of prayer greets the dawn. "Quoniam oportet

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praevenire solem ad benedictionem tuam, et ad ortum lucis te adorare" (Wisd. xvi, 28). His first thoughts on waking shall be for the Creator. "Arise, my glory: arise, psaltery and harp: I will arise in the morning early." (Ps. cvii., 2.) The early morning is to him a natural reminder of the first morning of creation. Darkness was over the face of the deep and God said, "Let there be light," and one by one the majestic tableaux of creation were rehearsed; and even so, morning after morning the gladsome light comes dancing over the mountains, "saliens in montibus et transiliens colles," rejoicing like a giant to run its course, chasing the shades of night and revealing with untiring diligence the splendors of the pageant of nature, fresh and fair as when first they came forth from the fiat of Omnipotence. The soul of the Psalmist springs forth to greet them and to the whole world—"angelis, populis, gentibus"—he heralds their approach with a rushing torrent of prayerful eloquence. "Benedicite sol et luna, Domino; Laudate cum coeli coelorum; Afferte Domino gloriam et honorem."

The psalms which are now introduced into this "Hour"—taken, of course, with those of the old festive and ferial Lauds—reveal elements of beauty which perhaps were easily passed over or lost much of their force in their former setting. They show us with greater emphasis that Lauds is not merely an exquisite masterpiece of lyric poetry which sings the glory of creation and wafts the soul on the wings of joy to the Creator; rather is it a "terminus a quo" from which sets out a far more comprehensive song of praise. The wonders of the "Hexaemeron" constitute only one of the elements in what we have styled the Leit-motif of the "Lauds" symphony; the gaze of the Psalmist refuses to be horizoned by the visible present, and so out of the leading theme he draws a wealth of poetical, symbolic and doctrinal material, which may be classified under the following five subsidiary[1] themes:

I. Laudate Angeli.
II. Fons luminis.
III. Oriens ex alto. 1. Ecce Veniet. 2. Dies Domini.
IV. Regnabit Dominus in Sion.
V. Lumen gloriae.

I. LAUDATE ANGELI.

From the dawn of the morning to the morning of creation

[1] N. B.—Let it not be supposed that the words "secondary" and "subsidiary" used in this connection refer to the subject-matter introduced by the Psalmist. It is a question rather of relationship to a first idea which logically and poetically and sometimes typically suggests kindred ideas in other spheres of thought and unless the introduction and development of these various ideas receive due attention, Lauds will be shorn of much of its real significance and charm.

was a natural sequence of thought, and this in its turn conjures up the thought of another still more glorious morning of creation. The visible recalls the invisible. "In principio Deus creavit coelum et terram." There is another universe as yet unsung, in that limitless space beyond. In the long watches of the night, when hiding from the anger of Saul in the midst of the forest or in some cleft of the rocks, often had the inspired Psalmist gazed in prayerful wonderment at the dark blue canopy overhead — silent, immeasurable, transcending thought, blinding the imagination, with its myriad sentinel-angels on active duty there before the gates of the King's palace, yet so sweetly companionable to him in his loneliness, watching with him and over him with interest unabated, unflagging; mute and mysterious, yet ever addressing him with a soothing eloquence distilled surely in the mansions of peace. What ineffably majestic beings they must be, hidden away there beyond the spangled veil of night. Let the Morning Hymn of Praise embrace them, too, and when the first gladsome beams of the approaching orb of day has unlocked and let loose a very torrent of praise which goes rushing on from one end to the other of the visible universe, the inspired Psalmist recognizes that his work is scarce begun. Let the shout of joy rise higher and higher, let it pierce the clouds and get above the heavens—"super coelos"—even to the abode of the angelic host, and in the exuberance of his joy he boldly summons the celestial hierarchy to swell the triumphant chorus of praise. "Hath not the Lord made the saints to declare all His wonderful works, which the Lord Almighty hath firmly settled to be established for His glory." (Eccl. xlii., 17.) "Laudate Dominum de caelis, laudate eum omnes angeli ejus. In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi." (cxxxvii.) The morning of *their* creation dawned with a display of magnificence of which all the concentrated grandeur of the material universe is but a faded reflection. That was the morning which witnessed the first fiat of creative Omnipotence. "He spoke and they were made, He commanded and they were created." Who shall tell the magnitude and glory of the immaterial creations—"intelligences of spiritual majesty and beauty, founts of created wisdom, knowledge and power, all light and fire; their splendor, glory and magnificence are so surpassingly brilliant and dazzling that the material sun is but a feeble image of it"—and all issuing in the morning of time from the womb of night, from the dark abyss of nothingness. They, too, must uplift their voice and praise the God of eternal day. "Up, therefore, ye 'Sons of God,' ye first-born of Elohim, who before all other intelligent beings arose on the first morning of creation from out the bosom of nothingness; throng around your God whilst He createth

the heavens and the earth, that your joyful shout of 'glory' may resound harmonious in His honor, as each of His works cometh forth from His hand."[2] "Afferte Domino gloriam et honorem afferte Domino gloriam nomini ejus. (Monday at Lauds) Vox Domino in virtute, vox Domini in magnificentia." Stand amazed and hearken to the thunder of His majesty, as the creative fiat echoes and reëchoes through the boundless immensity of space calling into being vast worlds and adorning them in gorgeous garments of golden light and emerald and opal. "Benedicite omnes angeli Domini Domino." Let the man of prayer join with them in welcoming with joyous acclaim the light of that first dawn when "the morning stars praised him together, and all the sons of God (Sept. all my angels) made joyful melody." (Job xxxviii., 7.) Never has that "joyful melody" ceased "in atriis Domini." It was the Lauds of the angel host. What wonder, then, that Mother Church, when summoning her sacerdotal choirs to "sing to the Lord and bless His name and show His salvation from day to day," should link them up as the Psalmist did the sons of Core and his other singing men—with the choirs of the angels, and especially with that first outburst of their song which broke in upon the calm repose of eternity, which proclaimed the glorious dawn of the divine operations ad extra, that first "Gloria in excelsis Deo," shaking the vaults of infinity, and voiced by the "thousands and thousands who ministered to Him and the ten thousand times one hundred thousand who stood before Him." (Dan. vii., 10.)

II. FONS LUMINIS.

The harmonies of our symphony become richer, more complex and subtle when the "Egregius Psaltes Israel" (II. Kings xxii., 2) returns to his main theme and views it in the mystic realms of symbolism. We have seen him like the lark at early morn soaring high above the expansive panorama of creation and pouring out a flood of poetic song in praise of the Creator: "Dominum super aquas multas, Dominum in atrio sancto ejus." And now his soul takes wing again. On the pinions of prophecy he mounts higher and yet higher even to the contemplation of "mysteries hidden from all eternity." "Nimis profundae factae sunt cogitationes tuae." (Ps. xci.) How is he to unfold the sublime truths vouchsafed to him during those precious moments of prayerful ecstasy? The language of earth is at best but a sorry medium through which to convey the image of things divine; but such as it is, he will press into service the most perfect and telling images he can discover, and so at early morn with a heart full to overflowing, with a sense of the majesty of

[2] Cfr. "Psallite Sapienter" (Roche) on Psalm xxviii.

God's wondrous, all-pervading, life-giving "created light," what more natural than to use it as a symbol of the "Light uncreated?" "Quoniam apud te est *fons vitae,* et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen" (Ps. xxxv., 10)—Thursday. One of the leading and oft-recurring ideas in Lauds is undoubtedly the praise of Hih who is the "Oriens ex alto," who in ages to come should testify of Himself to the aged prophet of Patmos: "I am the root and stock of David, the bright and morning star" (Apoc. xxii., 16); who taught us to think of Himself as the "Lux mundi," and who is constantly portrayed in the inspired pages under the same imagery. The passage just referred to from Psalm xxxv., "With Thee is the fountain of life, and in Thy light we shall see light," is forcefully reminiscent of passages in the opening chapter of St. John's Gospel: "The Word was with God . . . In Him was life and the life was the light of men," etc. "Ista enim lux," says St. Augustine in his homily on the words "Ego sum lux mundi," "est de qua propheta olim praemissa ita in Psalmo cecinit: Quoniam apud te est fons vitae et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen," and the minstrel-monarch who typified and sang the future Messiah was, so to speak, an earlier precursor who "was to give testimony of the Light." Christ was by excellence the "Fons vitae et luminis—per quem omnia facta sunt," and the thought comes to the Psalmist as an easy and natural modulation from the very sight of those created things which had aroused the muse within him and which he recognized to be totally dependent for their existence on the Author of life. "Et tibi laus; cuncta enim quae in coelo sunt, et in terra, tua sunt." (Canticum David: Feria 2.) St. Augustine might almost have written of David what he wrote of St. John the Evangelist: "Erexit se non solum super terram et super omnem ambitum aeris et caeli, sed super omnem etiam exercitum angelorum, emnemque constitutionem invisibilium potestatum: et pervenit ad eum per quem facta sunt omnia, dicendo: In principio erat Verbum et Deus erat Verbum." (Tract 36.) From the earth which is the "footstool" he ascends to Him who sitteth on the throne in regions of inaccessible light: "Who being the brightness of His glory and the figure of His substance and upholding all things by the word of His power . . . sitteth on the right hand of the majesty on high." (Heb. i., 3.) "Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature: for in Him were all things created in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible . . . all things were created by Him and in Him: and He is before all and in Him all things consist." (Col. i., 15-17.) Praise to Him who one day shall be as the "morning rising" over a dark and desolate region—"in terra deserta et invia et inaquosa." Praise to Him who is the Lumen de lumine—"Ille Lucifer qui nescit occasum"—coëternal,

consubstantial with the Father—Ante luciferum genitus—"From the womb before the daystar I begot Thee." This exquisite strain of melody with its haunting, almost sensuous symbolism is most beautifully caught up and enlarged upon in that masterpiece of hymn-writing, the "Splendor paternae gloriae," which is the Lauds hymn for Feria II., and in which the doctrinal theme stated by, or perhaps rather insinuated by the Psalmist, returns again and again —treated with all the grace of poetic art. It may be well to give one or two of the stanzas here:

Splendor paternae gloriae,
De luce lucem proferens,
Lux lucis et fons luminis,
Diem dies illuminans:

Verusque sol illabere,
Micans nitore perpeti:
Jubarque Sancti Spiritus
Infunde nostris sensibus.

A little further on:

Aurora lucem provehit,
Cum luce nobis prodeat
In Patre totus Filius
Et Totus in Verbo Pater.

Similarly with all the other hymns. Running through them all and skilfully woven together is the silver strand of aurora and the golden thread of the "greater light that was to rule the day." These hymns are indeed exquisite little cameos of consummate workmanship—precious gems with many facets: pendant jewels on the fringe of the morning "Hour," suspended from its luxuriant symbolism like drops of morning dew gracefully hanging from the petals of the rose. They are all as it were bathed in the morning light, and with winsome freshness sing out their clear and haunting melodies. More than this: they have a didactic value inasmuch as they suggest the right attitude to be adopted in reciting the psalms not merely in Lauds, but all through the Divine Office. The priest in choir is not a professor in the chair of exegesis. He is at prayer and so is free to roam almost at will in the realms of mystic and symbolic application. The hymns at Lauds certainly seem to warrant a fair latitude in this direction; so also does the selection of the psalms on feast-days. When "Samuel took the horn of oil and anointed David in the midst of his brethren, the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward." The significance of that advent of the Spirit we know only in part: sometimes the spirit of

prophecy has given whole psalms which can be classed as "Messianic" throughout; sometimes the greater part of a psalm may be literally and exclusively applicable to events of the time with only incidental allusions to future events; but the fulness of time has revealed a whole catena of mysteries, which when referred back and viewed in the light of the Psalmist's utterances show what an unexpected wealth of doctrine in regard to Christ and His future kingdom, both on earth and in heaven, is clothed in the wonderful mystic and symbolic raiment of psalmody. This is a line of thought that will be found to foster devotion in reciting the Office inasmuch as it stimulates thought and encourages one to look with confidence and care for beauties that we feel to be hidden beneath the surface.

III. ORIENS EX ALTO.

"In Thy light," the Psalmist has said, "we shall see light." Let us follow him as under the prophetic guidance of the Spirit he glances back to earth and looking ahead over the centuries sees the Divine Aurora gradually breaking over a world that sits in darkness and in the shadow of death. Not merely does the "Verbum" dwell in the dazzling and inaccesssible light of the Divinity; not only is the Fons vitae et luminis "apud te:" it must needs be poured out on the earth below. "Deus . . . illuminat vultum suum *super nos.*" In rich and melodious outpourings first in one psalm, then in another the Lauds "Hour" develops the thought embodied in these words. The promised One is to be our Emmanuel, "God with us." The unquenchable light that has radiated for an eternity in the bosom of the Adorable Trinity is to shine also on earth. "Visitavit nos Oriens ex Alto," and this exalted theme as detailed and analyzed for us in the psalmody of Lauds is such as to fascinate the soul with its beauty and charm it to wonderment with its never-tiring variety. The advent of Christ, His victory over the grave, His glorious Ascension, the spread of His kingdom here, His second coming to judge and the final triumph of His life's work: all of these meet us in one form or other as the "Hour" proceeds. Its carefully chosen psalms act as a kind of spectrum which refracts the brightest colors of the light which emanates from the "Sol Justitiae." They span the horizon of Christ's life like the rainbow and reproduce certainly one of the chief charms of the rainbow—the colors of which, though bold and decisive, pass by soft and insensible gradations of tint one into the other, and so with the color-scheme of these particular psalms as seen through the spectrum of private devotion: the mysteries recalled are clearly joyful and glorious, but they are blended one with the other in the most harmonious manner, with delicate nuances of shading ranged through every tint that can in any way suggest joy and gladness.

The theme "Oriens ex Alto" is developed along three main lines: (1) (Ecce Veniet) in regard to the Person of the long-promised Messiah, the leading facts of His life on earth—His Advent, Resurrection, Ascension; (2) in regard to His Second Coming (Dies Domini); (3) in regard to His life's work—the Redemption and the inauguration of a spiritual kingdom (treated later under Theme 4). (1) First come the oft-repeated harmonies of the "Ecce veniet," "Mane videbitis gloriam ejus," as is sung on Christmas Eve, or in the words of the Antiphon, "O Oriens, splendor lucis aeternae et sol justitiae, veni et illumina sedentes in tenebris et umbra mortis." Several of the Lauds psalms are undoubtedly introduced to emphasize this first coming of the Saviour, the advent of the dawn which ushered in man's restoration. Four consecutive psalms are especially noticeable as pointing to this, namely: xcv., "Cantate Domino canticum novum, cantate" (Tuesday); xcvi., "Dominus regnavit, exultet terra" (Wednesday); xcvii., "Cantate Domino . . . quia mirabilia" (Thursday); xcviii., "Dominus regnavit, irascantur populi" (Friday); and to these must be added lxxxiv, "Benedixisti Domine" (Friday), and xci., "Bonum est" (Saturday). All these are taken from the old Matins. Already had Mother Church given a lead as to their liturgical significance, inasmuch as they appear in the Offices of the three great feasts at Christmas time—the Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany. All through the preparatory season of Advent they are drawn upon both in the Mass and the Office because of their obvious application to the Light that was to come: "Lux de Luce apparuisti Christe" (Ant. ad Magnificat, Fer. 3, Oct. Epiph). For example: The Offertory for the Second Sunday of Advent, "Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos . . . et salutare tuum da nobis," lxxxiv. Third Sunday Introit and Offert., "Benedixisti Domine terram tuam, avertisti captivitatem Jacob, remisisti iniquitatem plebis tuae," lxxxiv. These thoughts are echoed again at the Resp. Brev. at Sext all through Advent, and notice the fourth Antiphon of Lauds on the II. Advent, "Montes et colles cantabunt coram Deo laudem, et omnia Ligna silvarum plaudent manibus; quoniam veniet Dominator . . ." (Confer Ps. xcv, v. 12.)

Similarly the Offertory for the first Mass on Christmas Day, "Laetentur coeli, et exultet terra, ante faciem Domini, quoniam venit," from Ps. xcv. In the third Mass for the Communion we have "Viderunt omnes fines terrae Salutare Dei nostri" (Ps. xcvii.), the opening words of which appear in the Introit, "Cantate Domino canticum novum: quia mirabilia fecit."

The psalms from which these excerpts are culled are certainly full to overflowing with the joy of expectation. All the earth is invited to praise God with a "New Canticle" in return for the new

favor conferred upon it—freedom from the bondage of sin—as compared with the canticles of the Old Law which sang of the liberation from captivity under the Pharaohs or the kings of Babylon; or as St. Chrysostom expounds the word: "The former Canticles, like that of Moses or Deborah, could not be sung outside the land of promise. "How shall we sing the canticle of the Lord in a strange land" (Ps. cxxxvi.), but the "New" canticle is to resound through the whole earth. "Cantate . . omnis terra."

"Annuntiate," i. e., evangelizate "de die in diem salutare ejus." Here, of a truth, is the subject-matter of the "Novum Canticum," coinciding with the message of the angel and the melody of the angelic host on the hill-slopes by Bethlehem: "Behold I bring you good tidings of great joy that shall be to all the people, for this day is born to you a Saviour. Glory to God . . ." and towards the end of this Canticle we find a happy reintroduction of the first primary theme in Lauds, resulting in a joyous, almost boisterous union of two swollen tributaries of song: not merely must created magnificence echo the Creator's praise, but a further and more compelling reason is advanced: "Laetentur caeli et exultet terra, commoveatur mare et plenitudo ejus: gaudebunt campi . . . exultabunt ligna . . . quia Venit . . ." vv. 11, 12. "His name shall be called Wonderful," and so on the Circumcision, "Benedicite nomini ejus," v. 2; and the glad homage of the Magi, as representing the nations, is clearly indicated—"Afferte Domino patriae gentium, afferte Domino gloriam et honorem," v. 3.

Again in Psalm xcvi., "Dominus Regnavit," patristic exegesis warrants us in seeing many allusions to the coming of the Messiah. The prevailing darkness of the pagan world at the time is tersely described in the "nubes et caligo in circuitu ejus"—though mystically they signify the Sacred Humanity which clothed the Person of the Word as with a cloud; nevertheless the world will be at His feet with joy and exultation: "Laetentur insulae multae," as is sung on the Epiphany; i. e., not merely the islands strictly so called will rejoice, but all those regions and their peoples with a seaboard accessible to the Jewish nation; the gladsome tidings of the Saviour's advent will be carried across the vast expanse of the ocean; let all rejoice with exceeding great joy. "Lux orta est justo et rectis corde laetitia"—words which easily recall the Star of the Wise Men, as the "Annuntiaverunt Coeli," etc., verse 6, are but the counterpart of the "good tidings" announced to the shepherds. St. Paul, too, links up the eighth verse of this Psalm, "Adorate eum omnes angeli ejus," with the Incarnation, in the well-known passage in Hebr. i., 6, "Quum iterum introducit Primogenitum in orbem terrae, dicit: Et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei."

Thursday Lauds brings another "Cantate Domino canticum novum" (xcvii.); our theme is stated and restated in different forms all clearly indicative of the Divine Orb which in its majestic rising was to search out and illumine every darkest cavern of human ignorance and misery; "Viderunt omnes termini terrae salutare Dei nostri . . . Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum, in conspectu gentium revelavit justitiam suam." And as though to preserve the unity of this grand symphony with its opening "Plaudite," and at the same time to accentuate the leading idea with every possible device, literary and musical, we have a glorious cluster of coördinate harmonies as in verses 6 and 7, "Jubilate Deo, omnis terra: cantate, et exultate, et psallite. Psallite in cithara . . . in tubis ductilibus, et voce tubae corneae." Voices and instruments alike, "In decachordo, psalterio: cum cantico, in cithera," all are worked up into a grand climax of welcome to Him "Qui in conspectu gentium revelavit justitiam suam." (verse 3.) All through the long night preceding the Aurora, patriarch and prophet had been buoyed up by the promise of a future Redeemer. "Qui et illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum" (I. Cor iv., 5); they were assured that God would be faithful to His promises: "Veritas Domini manet in aeternum;" the long-looked for dawn would gild the sky; in the meantime it was theirs to keep alight the salutary fires of hope: "Bonum est confiteri Domino . . . Ad annuntiandum mane misericordiam tuam; et veritatem tuam per noctem" (xci., 1, 2); (Sabbato), theirs to pray "ostende nobis Domine lucem miserationum tuarum" (Sabb. Lauds Canticum) till the darkness should be changed into light and mankind should be enabled to say in very truth "Lucifer ortus est in cordibus nostris."

We may regard the "Resurrection" and "Ascension" as further developments of the theme, "Oriens ex Alto." Historically perhaps this is not quite accurate, as according to some writers on the Office Lauds was primarily the Hour which glorified God for the victory of Easter morn. It would surely be a pity to allow our devotion to be crippled by a question of historical origins. The morning light breaks on Lauds as on a prism—"circumdata varietate," and variety in this connection is undoubtedly helpful as well as healthy. Certainly we must allow the full Easter significance to this Hour, and with it we may fittingly couple the joy of the Ascension. It is easy for the thoughtful and prayerful recitant of the Office, as he exclaims, "Domine mane exaudies vocem meam," "Mane astabo tibi," to make his composition of place at the empty tomb, "very early in the morning . . ." (Mark xvi., 2), to behold in spirit the "two angels in white," to live over and over again the scene of triumph, the passing of the night, the rising of the Divine Son of

Justice: "Haec dies quem fecit Dominus." He will let his whole being vibrate with the oft-repeated harmonies of the Alleluia, which stands out in such vehement contrast with the "Miserere" of the penitential season of Lent. "Tua est Domine, magnificentia et potentia et gloria atque victoria." (Cant. David, Fer. 2).

When wintering in the far North, Captain Sherard Osborn describes the return of the sun after an absence of sixty-six days in words which might very appropriately be recalled here. On February 7 "the stentorian lungs of the *Resolute's* boatswain hailed to say the sun was in sight from the masthead; and in all the vessels the rigging was soon manned to get the first glimpse of the returning god of day. Slowly it rose, and loud and hearty cheers greeted the return of an orb which those without the frozen zone do not half appreciate because he is always with them. For a whole hour we feasted ourselves admiring the sphere of fire." And so in Lauds. There may be little in the psalms themselves which has a direct prophetic bearing on the fact of the Resurrection of Christ—which indeed is the case—but the hour itself, the freshness of the morning, the near approach of another day, the reawakening of nature from its nocturnal slumber and the recognized symbolism of the hour "when morning gilds the skies:" all tend to create just that atmosphere which is best calculated to bring the soul into loving commune with the devoted followers of Christ who, when the silver streaks of dawn were shining along the skies, wended their way through the silent streets to the sepulchre of their Lord and Master. This will naturally be the central devotional thought at Eastertide and then every "Benedicite," "Laudate," "Praecinite," "Confitemini" will echo the soul's jubilation and congratulation to the Conqueror of death and hell: "Therefore my heart hath been glad and my tongue hath rejoiced . . . because Thou didst not leave His soul in hell, nor didst Thou give Thy holy One to see corruption." (Ps.xv., 9.) The actual psalmody of Lauds, however, as applied to the "Resurrection," deals rather with what may be termed its official character. Just as the Nocturns signify the period of the Old Law when the race "sat in darkness," so the "Hour" of Lauds signifies the period of grace which began with the Resurrection of Christ and will continue with His Church till the end of the world. (Durandus. de Noct.) This aspect of Lauds will, however, be treated under Theme No. 4—"Regnabit Deus in Sion." All during Paschal time, therefore, in a more especial way, there will be no mistaking the key in which the music is set. "O Felix Diluculo," etc.[3]

[3] "O felix diluculo, quo Christus resrgens captivitatem nostram sua duxit virtute captivam. . . . Hac autem hora, filli Israel sicco vestigio mare rubrum transeuntes, baptismatis sacramentum et vocationis nostrae gratiam praefigurarunt." (Bona. Div. Psalm. in loco.)

Christ is King and Conqueror, and of His kingdom there shall be no end. "Dominus regnavit, exultet terra," "Ascendit Deus in jubilo et Dominus in voce tubae," "Dominus virtutem dabit populo suo, Dominus benedicet populo suo in pace," Cantate, Laudate. We may note how the thought is caught up in the Hymn for Lauds at Easter time:

Aurora coelum purpurat
    Aether resultat laudibus
Mundus triumphans jubilat
Horrens avernus infremit:
    Rex ille dum fortissimus
    De mortis inferno specu
    Patrum senatum liberum
    Educit ad vitae jubar . . .
Victor triumphat . . . Surrexit extinctor necis.

"For He hath taken us, and He will heal us; He will strike and He will cure us. He will revive us after two days: on the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight. We shall know and we shall follow on, that we may know the Lord. His going forth is prepared as the morning light." (Osee vi., 2, 3.)

"DIES DOMINI."

It is an easy task when reciting Lauds to detect the deep diapason note announcing the solemn theme of the "Parousia" or Second Coming. We place this sub-theme here because of its obvious relationship to the foregoing. At first sight it might appear a somewhat abrupt transition, but there are the words of the Creed to justify it: "He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead," and the words of the "two men in white garments, who also said, 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand you looking up to heaven? This Jesus who is taken up from you into heaven shall so come as you have seen Him going into heaven.'" The devout soul that climbs the Mount of Ascension to sing the Saviour's triumphant entry into heaven has already made its composition of place for further prayerful meditation on the last act of the great drama when Christ will come again on the "clouds of heaven in much power and majesty."

Moreover, nearly all the Psalms which we have referred to as bearing a mystical application to the coming of the Messiah in the fulness of time (Ecce veniet) tell also of His Second Coming to establish His reign forever and forever. Psalm xcv, for instance,

finishes up with a jubilant and convincing outburst of prophetic praise for the twofold judgment of mercy and of justice. "Let the earth be glad . . . the fields and all things that are in them shall be joyful. Then shall all the trees of the woods rejoice before the face of the Lord because He cometh; because He cometh to judge the earth, He shall judge the world with justice and the people with His truth" (verses 11, 12, 13). He will come to redeem the world in His mercy, but He will come again to judge it in His justice. The Psalmist would seem to insinuate what St. Paul explicitly states, that even the inanimate creation will participate in the liberation and glory won by Christ, "because the creature also itself shall be delivered from the servitude of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God" (Rom. viii., 21), a promise which will see its fulfillment only after the General Judgment, when the glory of God and his elect will flow in copious streams over the material universe and there will be "new heavens and a new earth according to His promises, in which justice dwelleth." (II. Peter iii., 23.) The same strain of melody occurs in the second part of Psalm xcvii. "Let the sea be moved and the fulness thereof; the world and they that dwell therein. The rivers shall clap their hands, the mountains shall rejoice together in the presence of the Lord; because He cometh to judge the earth. He shall judge the world with justice and the people with equity."

Psalm cxlix., "Cantate Domino," introduces new features into the picture of the Judgment. Christ had encouraged His apostles with the comforting assurance, "I dispose to you, as My Father hath disposed to Me, a kingdom: that you may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom; and may sit upon thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Luke xxii., 30), and the same thought is taken up by St. Paul: "Know you not that the saints shall judge the world." (I. Cor. vi., 2.) And is not this admirably anticipated in the familiar words, "Exaltationes Dei in gutture eorum: et gladii ancipites in manibus eorum. Ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus . . . ut faciant in eis judicium conscriptum: gloria haec est omnibus sanctis ejus." The two-edged swords represent the judiciary power with which the saints of God will be invested on the last day; the word of Truth with which they will vindicate the judgments of God; the sharp and piercing sentences of condemnation with which in union with Christ, "to whom all judgment is given," they will wreak vengeance on their enemies, "increpationes in populis." "Then shall the just stand with great constancy against those that have afflicted them." "Gloria haec est omnibus sanctis ejus."

It remains to be pointed out that the "mystical" significance also

of the Lauds Hour embraces the Second Coming of the Son of Man as one of its characteristic features. It is the Hour which welcomes the approach of day, a word which the Apostle uses time after time in referring to the coming of the Judge at the end of time. "There is laid up for me a crown of justice which the Lord . . . will render to me in that day." "For yourselves know perfectly that the 'day of the Lord' shall so come." (I. Thess. v., 2.) "He who hath begun a good work in you will perfect it unto the 'day' of Christ Jesus." (Phil. i., 6.) And in the Gospels—"the last day," "the day of the Son of man," etc.

It will be evident to all that the subject of this "Dies Domini" theme comes as a considerable aid to devotion at any season of the year. It is a solemn summons to the soul to stand day by day on the threshold of eternal day; to contemplate the coming of the Judge; to realize that the night of this life, long though it may seem, must assuredly have an end; that the Divine Sun of Justice will rise at length to set no more. It instils into the prayer at dawn the spirit of watchfulness, as inculcated by our Divine Lord: "Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet Him . . . watch ye therefore because ye know not the day nor the hour;" and with the spirit of watchfulness is interlocked that also of wistful yearning which mounts on the wings of hope and scans the horizon for an early glimpse, however faint and indistinct, of the land that must soon be in sight. "My soul longeth and fainteth for the courts of the Lord." "Woe is me that my sojourning is prolonged." "When shall I come and appear before the face of the Lord?"

IV. "REGNABIT DEUS IN SION."

The subject-matter of the fourth subsidiary theme follows on from the theme, "Oriens ex Alto" (i. e., "Resurrection" section) by a simple and easy transition. The praise of Christ as King brings with it the correlative desire to acclaim the glorious and mighty kingdom over which He reigns; and so we may proceed to consider this important and very prominent strand in the symphonic tissue of Lauds: "Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion." "Lauda Jerusalem, Domino, lauda Deum tuum Sion." The hymn of praise shall be sung coupled with an eloquent outpouring of gratitude for the release from captivity and for the manifold "good things" to be found in the house, the temple, the city of God. To the Church, the kingdom of Christ, the prophetic words apply, "Thou hast visited the earth and hast plentifully watered it: thou hast many ways enriched it" (lxiv., Wedn. Lauds); and we find, in consequence, all through Lauds a similar rhapsody of exultation over the future glory of "Israel" and the "Law that shall go forth out of Sion." "For there

shall be a day in which the watchmen on Mount Ephraim shall cry: Arise and let us go up to Sion to the Lord our God . . . and they shall come and shall give praise in Mount Sion: and they shall flow together to the good things of the Lord . . . and their soul shall be as a watered garden . . . then shall the virgin rejoice and dance (in choro), the young men and old men together . . . and I will fill the soul of the priests with fatness: and My people shall be filled with My good things, saith the Lord." (Jer. xxxi., passim. Thurs. Cant.) It need only be said in passing that the joyous outpourings of prophet and psalmist in regard to the future restoration of Israel as well as the glowing eulogies of the glories of Divine worship when, under the sceptres of David and Solomon it was unapproached for grandeur and magnificence, are always to be studied in the light of the Church militant; that is to say, the mystical sense as well as the literal must be taken fully into account. In commenting on Psalm xcii, "Dominus regnavit," Schouppe has an important note which it will be well to quote here, as it bears on so many of the Lauds Psalms and opens the way to new realms of thought wherein our leit-motif of praise finds fresh material on which to pour out its varied treasures. He is contending that the mystical sense is really a "Sensus principalis," not a mere "Sensus accomodativus," and then continues:

"Si consideret (1) accomodationem hic in allegoria fundari; et aliunde. (2) *Legem fuisse a Christo gravidam,* ut Augustinus ait; (3) praecipuum psalmorum objectum esse Christum et Ecclesiam, ut Patres unanimiter docent; (4) psalmum hunc sicut reliquos, fuisse a Spiritu Sancto Ecclesiae Christi destinatum: . . . fatebitur profecto non immerito adoptari sententiam Patrum et interpretum eorum, qui Regnum Christi his celebrari docent. Quod si sensus admittitur de Christo, idem merito "principalis" appellatur: quia Christus finis est Legis ac figurarum: quia regnum Christi seu gratia, praestantius est regno naturae; et quia Christum principaliter Ecclesia, dirigente Spiritu Sancto, in Sacra Liturgia celebrat."

With this ever-fruitful mystical sense to guide us, the joy of the Psalter is no longer confined within the narrow limits of a solitary nation's grandeur. It out-paces the present and stretching far into the future portrays the glory and power of the Church, her dominion over the kings of the earth: her progress and expansion from East to West, and from one sea to the other: the receiving and gathering in of the heathen for her inheritance: her unceasing warfare with the unrighteous and her constant labors to exterminate all wicked doers from the land: her never-ceasing worship of prayer and thanksgiving: her patient waiting for the final advent of her Spouse during earth's long pilgrimage: her reliance on the

oft-repeated promise of ultimate deliverance from her enemies. It is a fertile theme on which to descant, and the "Monarch of Sublime Song" is never at a loss; fresh thoughts, figures, illustrations follow one another with the rapidity of sparks from the anvil till the soul is permeated through and through with the infection of the Psalmist's joy.

With him we picture the Church as a virgin, the King's daughter in a raiment of divers colors—"Therefore shall the people praise thee forever, yea, forever and ever" (Ps. xliv.); again as the vine which God brought out of Egypt—"Thou plantedst the roots thereof and it filled the land" (Ps. lxxix.); or the mountain in which God is well-pleased to dwell—"For there the Lord shall dwell unto the end" (Ps. lxvii.); or as the Dove with silver wings and feathers of gold (ibid); or again as the moon perfect forever and a faithful witness in heaven (Ps. lxxxviii.); or as the "firmament on the earth on the tops of mountains, above Libanus shall the fruit thereof be exalted; and they of the city shall flourish like the grass of the earth. Let His name be blessed forevermore" (Ps. lxxi.).

All these glowing attributes of the Church to come are singled out and treated one by one and duly extolled, now in one setting, now in another, till in Lauds the triumphant note rises to its highest pitch and is voiced forth again and again by the combined choirs in the Church's vast world-wide sanctuary. "Laudate servi Dominum, qui statis in domo domini, in atriis domus Dei nostri. Domus Levi benedicite Domino" (Ps. cxxxiv.) "Deo nostro sit jucunda decoraque laudatio" (Ps. cxlvi.). Though Lauds furnishes such a profuse wealth of ideas, it is well to bear in mind the unity which underlies them all; they are not a mere patchwork of pious "Laudates": continuity and interrelationship are easily discoverable and generally well defined. Already prominence has been given to some of the evident features in this evolutionary process, and to these can be added another in which is delineated the relationship between our present theme, "Regnabit Deus in Sion," and the previous one, "Oriens ex Alto," "Behold, I will bring my servant, the Orient. For behold the stone that I have laid before Jesus; upon one stone there are seven eyes . . . I will take away the iniquity of that land in one day. In that day every man shall call his friend under the vine and under the fig-tree . . . Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, saying: Behold a Man, the Orient is His name: and under Him shall He spring up and shall build a temple to the Lord . . . and He shall bear the glory and shall sit and rule upon His throne" (Zach. iii., 8; vi., 11-13), in which words Zacharias announces the Messiah to the first High Priest of the new temple as the Orient who taketh away the sins of the world; who is the

foundation-stone and the builder of the new spiritual temple, uniting in Himself the double functions of King and Priest. "One day," the day namely of the Passion of Christ, will remove the erstwhile darkness of error and iniquity; light and glory will rule instead, and with "seven eyes" the manifold providence of Christ will watch over His Church. "Aspicite ergo quae fecit nobiscum . . . quoniam ostendit majestatem suam in gentem peccatricem" (Tues. Cant.) "Oculi mei ad fideles terrae ut sedeant mecum" (Ps. c., Wedn.) "Filii autem hominum in tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt. Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuae" (Ps. xxxv., Thurs.). Christ and His Church; the two are separate and yet one. The sun is not the light nor the light the sun; each has a distinctive claim to its place in the "Benedicite," while yet a third claim which embodies both is not forgotten or overlooked, "Benedicite dies Domino;" equally so is it with our tribute of praise which mounts to the sky to herald the rise of the Sun of Justice, the "Fons luminis," and then falling back to earth distributes and diffuses itself wherever the light of the Gospel penetrates—that "more firm prophetical word whereunto you do well to attend as to a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts." (II. Pet. xix.) This light of the Gospel, this "Kingdom of Light," is the home of the "Orient," while at the same time the "Orient" is its generating principle. As Christ is the "Lumen de Lumine," so His Church is the "Lux de Luce:" "that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, in Me and I in Thee: that they also may be one in Us" (John xvii., 21): i. e., the members inseparably united with the Head, made "partakers of His divine nature" (II. Pet. i., 4); "walking in the light as He also is in the light" (I. John i., 7). The Church has shown her mind on this subject—this subtle interlacing of two main themes—by her choice of Psalm xcii.—"Dominus regnavit, decorem indutus est"—with which Lauds opens on Sundays and festivals. Literally, of course, this Psalm is in praise of God as the Creator and Conserver of the universe: allegorically it applies to Christ and His kingdom combined. Bellanger brings this out very fully in his commentary (vide Migne. Cursus S. Scr. tome 15): "Sensus sublimior respicit regnum Christi stabile et aeternum quod . . . confirmatum est per ejus resurrectionem. Christus regnum acquisivit in Ecclesiam; *decore*, gloria *ac fortitudine indutus est* per resurrectionem; *praecinxit se* ad propagandum regnum suum per apostolorum praedicationem; *orbem terrae firmavit* in vera religione *quam* portae inferi *commoveri non possunt. Ex tunc paratum fuit* ejus *solium* in quo sedet ad dexteram Patris; Apostoli (tanquam flumina) *elevant vocem suam* ad praedicandum evangelium; persecutiones (tanquam aquae multae) inundant Ecclesiam Christi: vel

populi multi (Apoc. xvii., 15) convertuntur ad fidem Evangelii et confluunt ad Ecclesiam tanquam flumina in mare, etc."

This triumphant double theme is evidently not to be confined to the Sunday or Festival Office, and its repetition is most striking, inasmuch as it is studiously placed at the head of Lauds every day of the week. On Monday, "Omnes gentes plaudite" (Ps. xlvi.), "the Gentiles are invited to praise God for the Ascension (Ascendit Deus) and for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ." In the literal sense this psalm was addressed to the Gentiles who were present at the dedication of the second temple, as Darius had ordered his governors to assist the Jews; or it may have been sung on the occasion of the translation of the Ark of the Covenant to Mount Sion; but the descriptive contents as given above is in accordance with the unanimous interpretation of the commentators and as such is adopted by the Church. Then follow in succession from Tuesday to Friday, Ps. xcv. to xcviii. Again the headings of these psalms will give us the clue to the Church's mind: "Cantate Domino," "An exhortation to praise God for the coming of Christ and His kingdom." "Dominus regnavit," "All are invited to rejoice at the glorious coming and reign of Christ." "Cantate Domino." "All are again invited to praise the Lord for the victories of Christ." "Dominus regnavit." "The reign of the Lord in Sion, i. e., of Christ in His Church."

On Saturday another glorious "Cantate Domino" comes first, in which the "Church is particularly bound to praise God" (Ps. cxlix.). The author is unknown, but the psalm was sung after the captivity to thank God for a signal victory and the favors and peace granted to his people, as also to foretell the conquests gained under the Macchabees, and more fully under the Messias: "Laus ejus in ecclesia sanctorum . . . exaltationes Dei in gutture eorum."

The children of the Church, "filii Sion," are to exult in their King; in choro, in tympano, in psalterio conjointly they will praise Him as the grateful members of one large universal Church—a glorious kingdom solidly established on a foundation of eternal truth and love. The first psalm then in each quintuplet of Lauds may be regarded as a trumpeting forth of the note of unqualified triumph: "Canite tuba in Sion."

But something surely has to be said of the opposition to be met with before that triumph is finally achieved; and with this end in view, an important counter-theme—which we may designate "Lux in Tenebris"—and which had already appeared in five of the old ferial psalms at Lauds (still retained as the second psalm all through the week) is further emphasized in the following new psalms which are introduced into the third place of each quintuplet:

28. Afferte Domino.
66. Deus misereatur (still kept from the Sunday.)
100. Misericordiam et judicium.
35. Dixit injustus.
84. Benedixisti Domino.
63. Exaudi Deus Orationem.

The ferial psalms referred to are:

5. Verbe mea auribus (Monday).
42. Judica me Deus (Tuesday).
89. Domine refugium (Thursday).
142. Domine exaudi (Friday).
91. Bonum est confiteri (Saturday).

One cannot but be struck by the contrast between these two sets of psalms and the first which we have been considering. Some of them at first sight seem hardly to have any of the characteristics which one expects to find in all "Lauds" psalms; some might even be deemed quite out of place; one for example is a "penitential" psalm; then there is the "Dixit injustus (xxxv.) and the "Exaudi Deus" (lxiii.), of a somewhat similar character. A closer investigation, however, reveals the fact that we have here the artist's simple device of introducing the darker shading on the canvas for the purpose of heightening the general effect of his work; the main Lauds theme does not suffer, rather it is brought into greater prominence. The glory of victory is intensified according to the opposition encountered; power that is merely latent cannot evoke enthusiastic song; mercy again is relative and only begets gratitude or praise in proportion to the degree and extent in which it has to be exercised. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find allusions more than once to the power of the persecutor, to the malice of the evil-doer, the assembly of the malignant and so on; but never is there a despondent note, never for long is the music in a minor key; the sun will assuredly rise and shine resplendent, even though it must first break through the mists. It will be well perhaps to point more in detail how perfectly this idea is suggested and worked out in the psalms mentioned.

"Afferte Domino." No sooner had Christ ascended to His throne on the right hand of the Father than the lifework of the Apostles began. Their commission was clear: "Euntes docete," i. e., "Make disciples among the nations. Other sheep not of the fold as yet must be gathered in," "Afferte Domino filios arietum." This apostolic work is to be carried out on lines similar to those adopted by Christ Himself, of whom it was confessed that "This

Man speaks as one having authority." . . . "They shall hear My voice." Our first psalm, therefore, in this group is a most graphic description of the "Vox Domini," of the effects of the preaching of the Word by accredited witnesses filled with the Holy Ghost. "He that heareth you heareth Me:" and with the Fathers of the Church, when reciting this psalm we can in spirit see the early dawn of the Gospel struggling through the mists of opposition. The Psalmist has in mind some such situation as was contemplated by Christ when He said to the firstlings of the fold, "Fear not, little flock, for it hath pleased your Father to give you a kingdom." (Luke xii., 32). "In the world you shall have distress, but have confidence, I have overcome the world" (John xvi., 33): and so here. It is fairly obvious that the majesty of God in nature is described for an ulterior purpose. Suffering, danger and persecution await the people of God when confronted with the might of the world; but "the Lord will give strength to His people" (verse 10). The gates of hell shall never prevail, for "the voice of the Lord is in power . . . the voice of the Lord shaketh the desert" —fit symbol of the power of the world; away, then, with every vestige of fear, for "the Lord shall sit King forever."

With this psalm may be coupled the "Exaudi Deus orationem" (lxiii.) of Saturday, and its appearance on feasts of Apostles gives the key to the reason of its selection here. It is a prayer in affliction caused by the machinations of persecutors: "Man shall come to a deep heart," but crafty and subtle though his projects be, "God shall be exalted;" the wounds He inflicts are likened to the weak efforts of "children's arrows," which can do no execution because "Thou hast protected me. . . . The just shall rejoice in the Lord, and all the upright in heart shall be praised." Obvious, therefore, the connection with the crimson dawn of Christianity and its blood-stained persecutions, but subsequent triumph. The Church prays this prayer in the Person of Christ suffering: "They have whetted their tongues like a sword. . . . Deliver my soul, O God, from the fear of the enemy." The answer to the prayer follows on immediately and recounts the confusion of the Jews, the preaching of the Gospel and the joy of the just. Of the Apostles' preaching the Passion is at once the meritorious and exemplary cause; and as Christ had foretold, "If they have persecuted Me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept My word, they will keep yours also," so our psalm finishes up with the clear note of triumph: "Annuntiaverunt opera Dei, et facta ejus intellexerunt."

A similar note of confidence is sounded in Psalm 100: "Misericordiam et judicium cantabo," which comes in the third place

on Wednesday.[4] A distinctive Lauds' character is found in the first verse: "Cantabo," "Psallam." The "mercies" of the Lord which David sings are in the first place the manifestations of His love towards the family of David,[5] but still more fervent will be the accents of joyous praise for the torrential outpouring of God's love on that larger family, which is the Church of Christ, the Son of David, and certainly the sentiments set forth in this Psalm, which has been styled "the mirror of princes," must have been very consolatory to the Apostles—the first princes of the kingdom of Christ—as they are to the priest ot-day. How frequently, for instance, does St. Paul recognize the mercies of God, as he looks back over his life: "By the grace of God I am what I am" (I. Cor. xv., 10). "But God had mercy . . . on me also lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow" (Philip ii., 27). How confidently, too, he trusts the "Judicium" of God; "for the rest there is laid up for me a crown which the Lord the just Judge will render to me in that day," and the priest, knowing how true are the words "You have not chosen Me, but I have chosen You," will sing the mercies of the Lord for the grace among many others of his vocation; he will praise the Judicium of God because he knows that his ministrations to his flock will not go unrewarded, and whatever be the present power of evil, it will certainly be followed by the ultimate triumph of righteousness, for (verse 8) "In matutino," without delay, "interficiebam omnes peccatores terrae: ut disperderem de civitate Domini omnes operantes iniquitatem."

The first five verses of Ps. 35 ("Dixit injustus"—Thursday), with their strong portrayal of the intensity and hopelessness almost of human corruption, form a dark background on which the Psalmist proceeds immediately to paint a glowing picture of the lavish generosity with which God is to reward His faithful children. There is no explicit appeal to break out into a song of praise, no "Laudate, Psallite, Confitemini;" the Lauds' sentiment is felt rather than expressed, but it is unmistakable. The inexhaustible fulness of God's love, His faithfulness and righteousness appear in consoling opposition to the malice of evildoers: "O Lord, Thy mercy is in heaven and Thy truth reacheth even to the clouds . . . the children of men will put their trust under the covert of Thy wings . . . they shall be inebriated with the plenty of Thy house . . ." and especially will this

[4] Some old Greek codices put at the head of this psalm the direction, "Psalmus David quaternioni sabbatorum," i. e., to be said or sung on the fourth day of the week. Cfr. Cursus completus, in loco.

[5] Cfr., also Ps. lxxxviii., "Misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabo."

liberality of God show itself in the treasure-house of the Church to come; for the "house" of which David speaks is the national sanctuary—the Old Testament type of that still greater and more perfect tabernacle wherein the children of men shall partake of the untold blessings of salvation: "Thou shalt make them drink of the torrent of Thy pleasure" (verse 9).

Friday's "Benedixisti" (84) takes up the same comforting thought. The ineffable blessings of Redemption are here recounted one by one—forgiveness, reconciliation, restoration to life, peace and justice, mercy and truth. Originally sung when the first fruits were brought to the temple, and in grateful memory for the "turning away of the captivity of Jacob," it is an easy task now when reciting Lauds to apply all this as the Fathers and commentators do, to Christ, "the first-fruits of them that sleep," who came to temper justice with mercy, who led captivity captive, that henceforth and forever "glory might dwell in our land." Let the nations be glad and rejoice, let all people give praise to thee, for the earth hath yielded her fruit." (66, Tuesday.)[6]

This "Lux in tenebris" counter theme, as already suggested, is the main feature of five out of the six former ferial psalms still retained. The reality of the Church's struggle with the powers of darkness is in no way lost sight of; it stands out in bold outline, but the final issue is never in doubt, and so Psalm v. "Verba mea auribus"—(Monday) bears the significant inscription "Unto the end, for her that obtaineth the inheritance;" that is, for the Church of Christ and all her faithful children whose final heritage after the conflict is the possession of heaven. "They shall rejoice forever, and thou shalt dwell in them, and all they that love Thy name shall glory in Thee" (verse 12). Of the enemies of Holy Church it may indeed be said "there is no truth in their mouth: their heart is vain; their throat is an open sepulchre: they dealt deceitfully with their tongues" (verses 10, 11), and the Psalmist may be weighed down with grief and give vent to words of gloom: "Why hast Thou cast me off, and why do I go sorrowful whilst the enemy afflicteth me . . . why art thou sad, O my soul, and why dost thou disquiet me?" (42, Tuesday), but the spirit of holy optimism is not far away, "for Thou wilt bless the just; O Lord, Thou hast crowned us as with a shield of Thy good will" (verse 13). "I will go into the altar of God: to God who giveth joy to my youth" (xlii., 4). The prospect of a glorious immortality fills with hope in proportion to sufferings borne for the truth. "We are filled in the morning with Thy mercy: and we have rejoiced and are delighted all our days. We have rejoiced for the

[6] Cf., also Ps. lxiv., Wednesday.

days in which Thou hast humbled us: for the years in which we have seen evils." (lxxxiv., 14—Thursday.) The same interplay of sunshine and shadow is distinguishable in the "Domine exaudi" (142) of Friday, though it is one of the penitential psalms. The Psalmist is in tribulation and calls upon God for his delivery. "The enemy hath persecuted my soul: he hath brought down my life to the earth . . . my soul is as earth without water unto Thee," but as the morning light chases the gloom of the darkest night, his fervent prayer goes up to the Supreme Source of all light: "Cause me to hear Thy mercy in the morning, for in Thee have I hoped;" he refuses to be cast down; "in Thy mercy Thou wilt destroy my enemies . . . for I am Thy servant" (verse 12), and though his "spirit hath fainted away," he knows full well that "Thy good spirit shall lead me into the right land" (verses 7, 10), and in Ps. 91 (Saturday), though the "wicked shall spring up as grass, and all the workers of iniquity shall appear," it is only that "they may perish for ever and ever: for behold Thy enemies, O Lord, shall perish, and all the workers of iniquity shall be scattered" (verses 8, 9).

Here, then, we have the artistic significance of the shadows that are cast along the Psalmody of Lauds. In some respects this current of thought reflects better perhaps than any other the inwardness of prayer at dawn when two opposing elements in nature are in conflict.

Nox et tenebrae et nubila
Confusa mundi et turbida;
Lux intrat, albescit polus:
Christus venit: discedite.

Caligo terrae scinditur
Percussa solis spiculo,
Rebusque jam color redit,
Vultu nitentis sideris.
(Fer. iv., Hymn at Lauds.)

And as an illustration of the mind and practical wisdom of our holy Mother Church, she gives us day by day a spiritual bouquet which we can carry along with us as a fragrant reminder of the varied and exquisite thoughts suggested in the course of this early morning prayer:

"Nox praecessit, dies autem appropininavit. Abjiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum, et induamur arma lucis. Sicut in die honeste ambulemus." (Capit. for each day.)

We may safely gather from the above considerations that the

counter theme, "Lux in tenebris," is something more than a mere interlude in the Symphony of Lauds. It may be defined as a solemn adagio movement, instinct with strenuous pleading, probing the very depths of the spirit, laying bare the soul's wounds, its needs, its helplessness; there are anxious moments for the Church, as for the individual soul, when innocence is confronted by the malice and violence of the persecutor, but one easily detects a continuous progress as of pressing forward to a greater and final consummation of victory. "O felix diluculo quo cunctis fidelibus spes futurae resurrectionis effulsit, quum omnes ab hac temporali morte, quasi a sopore somni, ad perennem gloriam ad immortalitatis diem, evigilabant" (Bona. in loco).

V. LUMEN GLORIAE.

The thematic material of the Symphony of Lauds is not yet exhausted. Like Sacred Scripture, we may say with St. Augustine, "Habet haustus primos, haustus secundos, haustus tertios." The symbolism of the hour when light again wooes the slumbering earth and unveils its hidden beauties, yields under analysis an anagogical significance full of new and sublime thoughts. "Rursum post tenebras spero lucem." In our pilgrimage through the dark valley which opens out eventually into the "ever-verdant lawns of Paradise," we have the light of reason to guide us, the light of grace to vivify us, the gift of faith which one day will leap into vision: "We see now in a dark manner," but the veil between the seen and the unseen can be worn thin by constant prayer; and to the meditative recitant of the Office the dawn which ushers in the day—with its "Deus, Deus meus ad te de luce vigilo," its "Mane astabo tibi et videbo"—is a welcome and eloquent reminder and harbinger of the eternal day which will bring with it all the joys of the Beatific Vision. "We see now in a dark manner, *but then face to face.*" The glory of God up to now in the harmonies of this part of the Office is but the manifestation or revelation of the Creator in terms of created existencies outside of us; but the "Lumen gloriae" is something more personal, more satisfying; "satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua" (Ps. 16); it imparts to the soul freed from the clogging imperfections of earthly existence a special power or disposition which is necessary to it if it is to have any vision of God at all. "In Thy light we shall see light" (Ps. xxxv., v. 10).

Ut mane, quod nos ultimum
Hic deprecamur cernui,

Cum luce nobis effluat
Hoc dum canore concrepat.
(Sabbato ad Laudes).

This aspect of Lauds is not so much the immediate subject-matter of special psalms as the spontaneous uplift of the mind, the overflow of devotion from collateral thoughts suggested in one form or another all through the "Hour." It is the echo in the distant hills of the music in the valley, the concomitant vibrations of harmonies in a larger instrument, though the chords are struck in a smaller; it is the celestial harmonics on the strings of Psalmody which deals with the glory of God in the created universe and in the "Church of the saints." We feel instinctively that in joining the choir of the Church militant we are but tuning the lyre for future use as members of the Church triumphant; as yet we but linger on the threshold, for we have not here a lasting city; "we are the children of the saints and look for that life which God will give to those that never change their faith in Him" (Tob. ii., 18), and the most that we can do now as pilgrims and sojourners is to catch the distant cadences of angel-minstrelsy. The theme "Lumen gloriae" is rather indicated than developed at any length, like the points of a meditation not yet fully drawn out; and one can detect a certain reverential reserve on the part of the Psalmist in this connection, which is all the more noticeable because of the exuberance of expression which characterizes his treatment of the themes we have already dealt with. St. Peter Damian expresses this same idea in an eloquent passage which appears in his discourse, "De caelestis Jerusalem beatitudine sempiterna" (Opusc. L., cap. 15), he says: "Who shall attempt to speak of the delights of Paradise, bearing in mind that, according to the beloved disciple John, who saw the glory of the only-begotten of the Father on the Mount, we can form even from the magnificent praises in Holy Writ but a very imperfect idea of the change to come: "It hath not appeared what we shall be" (I. John iii., 2), and that St. James, *when even his subject seems to demand a full picture of the future good things, is content to refer twice over* (i., 12, and ii., 15) *to the words of Isaias*: "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive what things God hath prepared for them that love Him (lxiv., 4), and that the great St. Paul, who was rapt to the third heavens, has no more perfect description than these same words. Enough for us then to know that no tongue can declare the beauty of heaven, and no mind imagine its perfect bliss; enough to know that we shall possess God and see God as He is and love Him for ever

and ever. It is good for us to be there with our Lord Jesus Christ, 'who will reform the body of our lowness made like to the body of His glory' (Phil. iii., 21) and fill our souls with the plenty of His own house and make them drink of the torrent of His pleasure." (Ps. iiiv., 8.)

This last quotation is from the "Dixit injustus" in Thursday's Lauds, and following on it immediately are the words "in Thy light we shall see light." In comparison with this "light of glory," as theologians term it, the most dazzling earthly light is as darkness. We cannot now see the essence of things, still less God in His essence; but the substance of the beatitude to which every rational creature is called is clearly stated by St. John: "We shall see Him as He is" (I. Ep. iii., 2), that is, in His essence. This is to be the happy consummation of all our yearnings here below, the crowning of all our hopes, the fulfilment of God's designs in us; and Lauds is the daily reminder of it. Now "we know in part," for light of God's grace illumines the mind, and we rejoice. We can see God, i. e., know Him reflected through His creatures; for "All men are vain in whom there is not the knowledge of God, and who by those good things that are seen could not understand Him that is, neither by attending to the works have acknowledged who was the workman." (Wisdom xiii.) For "the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; His eternal power and divinity." (Rom. i., 18.) We can see God, i. e., know Him through revelation, by faith, by His workings age after age in His Church, and by His ever-wakeful interest within the precincts of the soul; for all this we give Him the daily tribute of heartfelt praise: "Psallam Deo meo, quamdiu fuero" (Ps. 145). But through it all we recognize that we are but serving an apprenticeship which is to lead to "Him who is the Blessed and only Mighty, the King of kings and Lord of lords, who only hath immortality and inhabiteth light inaccessible, whom no man hath seen, nor can see," that is, with mortal eyes. (I. Tim. vi., 15.) In the meantime we sing the glory of the Creator in the open book of His creation, with the comforting assurance that while we are "beholding the glory of the Lord with open face, we are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the Lord." (II. Cor. iii., 18.) For "the path of the just, as a shining light, goeth forwards and increaseth even to perfect day." (Prov. iv., 18.)

We are not to suppose that when the term of our apprenticeship is over and the day of eternity has dawned, the vision of God comes within the scope of the unaided intellect. "Gratia Dei

vita aeterna" (Rom. vi.) and St. Thomas, who recalls this text, adds another "Haec est vita aeterna, ut cognascant te solum verum Deum" (John 17). Consequently we speak of "light" here only by analogy. It is the illumining of the intellect—a special creation of God, for a special purpose; "Claritas Dei illuminabit eam" (Apoc., 21), referring to the company of the blessed who see God. The natural forces of the created mind are elevated and suffused by a supernatural light, which endows the creature with a likeness to God, analogous to the likeness between the Divine Son and the Father. "Cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus, et videbimus eum, sicuti est." (I. John iii.) It is easy to infer from this that the "Lumen gloriae" is something more than a mere medium through which the vision of God becomes possible, as the morning light in regard to created beauty; more than this, it has a transforming effect on the faculty of intellectual sight and implies a participation in the divine nature as well as a deification of the created nature; as St. Thomas expresses it: "Secundum hoc lumen (beati) effiiciuntur deiformes" (ib.), for that a created intellect should see God "per essentiam" postulates that the essence of God be the 'Forma intelligibilis' of that intellect," and this light does not merely proceed from the Divine Intellect; it is homogeneous with it. Thus the intellect of the glorified creature is "informed" by the Divine Substance intrinsically present within it; which is only theology's way of stating the truth expressed by the Psalmist in the passage, "I have said: ye are gods, and all of you the sons of the Most High." (lxxxi., 6.) The illustration given by Lessius is much to the point here. "For if the sun in the physical world is able under certain conditions to light up the clouds in such a way that they shine like the sun itself and even appear to be suns—mock suns, or as we call them, 'parhelia'—much more easily will God, who is the Sun of the non-corporeal world, illumine by His splendor rational intelligences 'veluti nubes spirituales,' in such a way that they become altogether like to Him, and so shine as gods 'tanquam dii,' with a divine effulgence." (De summo bono, l., 2., c., 8, n. 44.)

This line of thought *links up our present theme in a happy and helpful vein with the former theme, "Fons luminis," and serves to show the exquisite unity that pervades the whole of the Lauds' hour.* It is not merely that the "Lumen Gloriae" of the blessed is the God-appointed sequel to and guerdon of the "Lumen gratiae" by virtue of which we become "partakers of the divine nature," even "in statu viae;" more than this, the "Fons luminis"—the uncreated source of created light—the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into *this* world—is the light also of the

blessed in that "city which hath no need of the sun, nor of the moon to shine in it. For the glory of God hath enlightened it and *the Lamb is the lamp thereof,* and the nations shall walk in the light of it." (Apoc. xxi., 23.) Then will be fulfilled the words of Christ Himself: "Father, the glory which Thou hast given to me I have given to them"—the glory which was His "before the creation of the world."

"In lumine tuo videbimus;" we shall see, though as St. Thomas points out, vision is not comprehension. (i., 12, 7.) To comprehend God in His essence and glory is beyond the scope even of the "Lumen gloriae;" this can be said only of the Trinity of Persons in the ineffable Godhead; of the Father "who hath the knowledge of all things;" of the Only-begotten Son "who is in the bosom of the Father" (John i., 18), and of the Holy Spirit, "who searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God." Still it *is* the Divine essence on which the blessed shall gaze, "for they shall see His face and His name shall be upon their foreheads" (Apoc. xxii., 4), and as St. Thomas adds, "All things are seen in God" ("Sicut in quodam speculo intelligibili" (I., xii., 9).

Then indeed shall the song of Lauds take on a new significance. It will span the gulf between effects and the primary Cause of all things. New and unthought of harmonies will be evolved in the celestial choirs to sing the wonders of the spiritual universe of which the glories of the material creation are but a figurative counterpart. "Lux orta est justo," not indeed to remove the dark mantle of earth's uncheery night and reveal mountains and hills and rivers and green pastureland; but to shed its radiance on the glittering fields of the "promised land," on the "Mountain of God," the "place of rivers;" to open up to the soul's longing gaze a whole vista of eternal truths impervious to the eye of faith however keen. The ways of Providence, now so often dark and mysterious—"Nubes et caligo in circuiti ejus"—will stand out boldly in the light of Eternal Wisdom; the towering and now unscalable cloud-capped heights of the Incarnation, the Redemption, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the abiding Presence of our "Emmanuel, God with us," will all bow their summits; mist and cloud will disappear, the glory of God will shine roundabout them and through and through; and we shall see them and know them as we never could see them through the semi-opaque medium of earthly knowledge. "Benedicite montes et colles Domini Domino," "Benedicite flumina Domino . . . ligna fructifera et omnes cedri." The strains of earth will acquire a fresh momentum when to the "spirits of the just made perfect" is shown the "river of water of life, clear as crystal"—not as the waters which speed

along in frantic glee from eerie heights to the broad bosom of the mighty ocean, but "proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb." Still let the "fruitful trees praise the name of the Lord," even in the Lauds which are chanted by the choirs supernal, for "on both sides of the river was the tree of life bearing twelve fruits, yielding its fruits every month and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." (Apoc. xxii., 1, 2.) In that day we shall "look upon Sion, the city of our solemnity; our eyes shall see Jerusalem a rich habitation . . . only there our Lord is magnificent: a place of rivers, very broad and spacious streams: no ship with oars shall pass by it, neither shall the great valley pass through it;" i. e., we shall be free to sing our Hosannas totally secure from the incursions of the enemy. (Is. xxxiii., 20.) In a word, there will be new worlds with garniture all their own; new firmaments with luminaries to correspond. The outstanding wonders of the material creation which did duty for the time being as stepping-stones from earth to heaven will be left far behind. In the firmament of the New Heaven, sun and moon and stars will still have their allotted place. The sun will indeed shine, but it will be the Divine Sun of Justice; the moon will still shed its pure light borrowed from the sun, for Mary will be there in all the glory of her Immaculate Conception, with queenly dignity reigning with her Son; "Laudate sol et luna Domino;" still will the stars shine out, a mighty host," quam dinumerare nemo poterat"—even the saints of God "come to Mount Sion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to the company of many thousands of angels." (Heb. xii., 22.)

Vision will penetrate further both "intensive and extensive." Solar light, which played merely upon the surfaces of things, dazzling and swift though it is, will be supplanted by a new creation far more searching; husk and shell will disappear, the essence of things will be laid bare; physical laws, moral sanctions, soul-longings, all the things of the spirit will be recognized in a flash as a wondrous mosaic rich in color, marvelous in design, and truths hitherto but partially grasped will fill the soul with ecstasy: "Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuae; et torrente voluptatis tuae potabis eos." (xxxv., 9.)

The vision of God will carry with it of necessity the experience of unbounded joy; "Beatitudo est gaudium de Veritate" St. Augustine); an aspect of the Lauds' symphony which the Psalmist does not overlook. "Exultabunt sancti in gloria, Laetabuntur in cubilibus suis," "Gloriamini, laetamini et exultate." "Exultent justi in conspectu Dei, et delectentur in laetitia." The "Lumen gloriae,"

as we have seen, raises the intellect above its natural capacity, and there is a corresponding elevation of the power of the will which enables it to participate in the Divine Love and Holiness; the blessed are made "one spirit with God" (I. Cor. vi., 17). And as this "Lumen gloriae" is of the same kind as the Light with which God knows Himself, so the love of God which characterizes the elect is of the same kind as that with which God loves Himself. Thus the soul, with its double activities of intellect and will, is caught up into the Life and Love of God, and joy is the necessary concomitant. "Intra in gaudium Domini tui," and as Cajetan remarks on these words: "Tam magnum est gaudium caelestis patriae de Deo, ut non possit concludi in homine, et ideo homo intrat in gaudium illud incomprehensibile, et non intrat gaudium illud in hominem, velut comprehensum ab homine" (in Matt. xxv). Although the *essence* of beatitude consists in the act of the intellect, St. Thomas takes care to insist "Ipsum gaudium est consummatio beatitudinis." The action of the will follows that of the intellect: "Voluntas delectata conquiescit in fine jam adepto . . . ad voluntatem pertinet delectatio beatitudinem consequens." (I., 2ae., Q3, A4.) This final "rest" of the soul in the attainment of its life-yearnings is picturesquely stated in the words "Laetabuntur in cubilibus suis." (Ps. 149.) It will be a rest from their labors, but not from their Alleluias (as Bellarmine puts it "in their beds, but not to sleep"); the enjoyment of eternal repose which at the same time is brimming over with soul-activities set in motion by the Power which is all "Act." "Cantabunt canticum novum," i. e., the "new canticle before the throne of the hundred and forty-four thousand who were purchased from the earth" (Apoc. xiv., 3); the "voice of harpers harping on their harps." It is the *Lauds of the Elect;* "the voice of much people in heaven saying 'Alleluia. Salvation and glory and power is to our God. . . . And a voice came out from the throne saying: Give praise to our God, all ye His servants . . . and I heard, as it were, the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters and as the voice of great thunders, saying Alleluia; for the Lord our God the Almighty hath reigned. Let us be glad and rejoice, and give glory to Him.'" (Apoc. xix., 1, 5, 6.)

Peace, perfect ease, security, companionship, love, will all be blended harmoniously together in a chorus of exultant conviction which no earthly music can adequately convey, and in comparison with which even the rapturous outpourings from the heart of the Royal Psalmist is but a thin strain of melody. Heaven cannot be described in terms of earth. "Sound of trumpet, psaltery and

harp, timbrel and choir, strings and organs, high-sounding cymbals, cymbals of joy—varied and rich and compelling though they be—can never weave the mystic harmonies of the "beata pacis visio," for "eye hath not seen nor ear heard." The psalmody of Lauds, like the incoming tide, ripples and rolls and thunders; its appeal is irresistible; it comes surging over the soul with unmistakable force and conviction, as though unconscious of any limitations, till its mighty power is substituted by another. "So far, but no further," and we must fain be content with the assurance that when "this mortal shall put on immortality and this corruptible shall put on incorruption," the jubilant strains of earth will at length break all barriers and pour themselves out in a flood of mystic song, in eternal accord with the soul's new life of unalloyed bliss in the "caeli corusca civitas," "Cantabo tibi Domine; psallam et intelligam . . . quando venies ad me." (Psalms c., 2.)

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PRESENT NEEDS OF CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS.

THE chief concern of the orthodox scholar is to base arguments of Christian apologetics upon common sense, sound logic, the testimony of witnesses and on positive facts, and at the same time to confine the enemies of the Christian faith to their proper assertions which abound with misunderstandings, mere imaginings and arbitrary hypotheses. It is a fatal error of modern scholars to think it a question of honesty to admit the existence of arguments pro and contra in such matters as the historical truthfulness of the Gospels, the historical authenticity of the book of Daniel, etc., notwithstanding the fact that such matters are necessary as arguments of faith. Those writing in this manner admit to the reader that this or that fact of history, as far as history is concerned, can be doubted. Now, if there is any serious reason to doubt an argument establishing faith, that argument becomes as useless as if it had been utterly disproved. Knowledge is certainty. That which can be reasonably doubted is uncertain. And because it is uncertain, it remains as a matter unknown. That which is true cannot be false. That which is white cannot be black. To grant that this or that matter admits of arguments, pro and contra, exhibits little understanding and no capacity of discerning truth from falsehood. When the enemies of our faith have gained uncertainty, they have gained everything. But the uncertainty of orthodox scholars will stand in history as the greatest shame of our age. Orthodox scholars must think before deciding what to say. It is better to keep silent than to give a poor solution of a difficulty. We can excuse a scholar who trusts to have well solved a problem and has failed; we cannot forgive a scholar who treats a problem and leaves it unsolved. An orthodox scholar who cares for the interest and the honor of his faith should not treat a question at all, unless he be able to decide it, and not to leave unanswered any sound argument of his opponents.

The enemies of faith never will be silenced. We are powerless against misunderstandings, imagination, arbitrary hypotheses and obstinate falsehoods. But we must safeguard our own faith and the religious welfare of honest people. To give an example, we need a writer like Plato to trust that through him we can know the doctrine of Socrates. And yet Plato has also written of his own doctrine. According to Mr. Harnack, the Evangelists are greater than Plato, since they had such a powerful intellect as to well understand and well remember the supreme teaching of Christ.

And more faithful than Plato, they have preached nothing else but the doctrine of Christ. To well understand and well remember any high doctrine, and most faithfully witness to it, is at least one thousand times harder than to see, to remember and to witness to plain facts. Now, according to Mr. Harnack we can and must trust the doctrine of Christ as given in the Gospels. But we cannot trust the plain facts related in the very same Gospels by the very same Evangelists. We shall certainly fail to convince Mr. Harnack of his true shame, and we do not care. But we must prove able to make every honest man understand that Mr. Harnack has talked nonsense.

Another fatal error of modern orthodox scholars is to sacrifice the historical certainty of an argument of faith, consoling themselves by saving its certainty as an object of faith. The modern orthodox scholar is well satisfied with himself if he has only proved that the truthfulness of the Gospel is possible. In fact, this is sufficient to make a faithful free to believe with certainty the truthfulness of the Gospel as an inspired book. But unless we can prove with certainty from history the truthfulness of the Gospel, these sacred books are useless as arguments of faith. And without the Gospel, Christian apologetics is ineffective. It is true that our faith stands or falls with the grace of God. But it is even more true that our faith stands or falls with the arguments of faith. Faith in that which is testified to is a human necessity. Trust in that which God tells us is a natural virtue. It is possible to a man to be convinced of faith and to believe without possessing the over-natural gift of faith. The grace of God does not change our intellect and does not make reasonable what is not reasonable. A man can have over-natural faith and know nothing of the teaching of Christ. But we cannot have over-natural faith in anything which is not first proved, either directly or indirectly with arguments of faith. True, some arguments of faith give a far-reaching conclusion. The Christian faith teaches all the most important truths which concern us. It is light and rest to our intellect. It is natural for darkness to pass away when light comes. It is just as natural to change ignorance into the light of faith. To reject this light, a man must indeed be evil. "And this is the judgment: because the light has come into the world and men love darkness rather than light." (John iii., 19). Great men have given testimony to the Christian faith. The testimony of those men who are competent judges of artistic worth is sufficient to give value to a picture by Raffaello. The profane eyes of the great majority of men cannot vitiate the judgment of the artistic connoisseur. So also in regard

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to faith, those men who give affirmative and intelligent testimony to the logical, moral and spiritual value of Christian faith offer a testimony which is proper and sufficient. But the testimony of those who have pronounced against Christian faith is nothing. To do so they simply needed not to understand faith.

The Catholic Church is the church of the saints. God is the proper authority to seal the saints with His approval, and this He has done, sealing His saints with the seal of miracles. The saints are, therefore, the proper witnesses to the Christian faith. Any of these arguments is enough to convince an honest God-fearing man that Christian faith as a whole is true, and he should receive, keep and venerate it. But the most honest man in the world is a weak man. Our faith will demand of us the hardest sacrifice; we must overcome the fiercest call of passion. Unless we have become fools, we cannot be satisfied with logical faith. We must treasure every evidence of our faith. Our reasoning fails shamefully. We must look forward for strong faith. Every argument of faith that loses its evidence is a help which we have lost. The Gospels are an inexhaustive argument of faith. If the Gospels do not stand any more as argument of faith, we are lost. For one or two generations men can continue to go to church in some measure, as long as their habit of doing so may keep them. But one hundred years from now the few saints will exist; the Catholic Church will have no other members but the few. A man who cares for his treasure cares also to provide means by which it may be carefully shielded from burglars. If the modern scholar were writing from his heart and soul he would understand that the interest in faith and the arguments for faith are not different, but are, in fact, one and indivisible.

The first way to defend the truthfulness of the Gospels is to vindicate the early date of their publication. If we were to select to-day the best Christian congregation in the world and try to write the Gospel from the oral accounts of those faithful, we would never succeed. This is true, notwithstanding the fact that several members may have been familiar with the written Gospel. The Gospel written by an Apostle can be trusted. The Gospel written by a companion of the Apostles at the time and with the authorization of the Apostles can be trusted also. A latter Gospel cannot be trusted. We can know the existence of the Gospels through Christian history and tradition, and we can know the existence of a Christian tradition through the Gospels and the Acts. It is from the Gospel that we know what was preached everywhere to Christian communities. It is from Christian tradition that we ascertain the

highest and strongest certainty of the history of Christ as given in the Gospels. Christians had no interest in the history of Christ unless they knew that history to be true. Christian communities in the first century met with the hatred of the whole world. The great number of Jews who refused to accept the Gospel proved yet unable to discredit the history of Christ as given in the Gospels and accepted by Christians. And the whole world itself was unable to accomplish the task. The books were written at the same time that the Gospel was preached by the Apostles. The Apostles and other disciples of Christ were able to found churches everywhere, but they were not able to take care continually of the same. New preachers were needed everywhere. It was impossible for the new ministers to preach with any faithfulness unless they had written Gospels to refer to. Nor would the Christian people trust their new preachers unless these speakers could confirm their statements by reference to an authoritative and written Gospel. When the Apostles and the disciples of Christ remained in Palestine, they were able to do the preaching themselves, and Christian history testifies that the first Gospel was written when the Apostles first left Palestine. According to Christian history, Peter left Palestine and established his see at Antioch seven years after the death of Christ; and St. Matthew wrote his Gospel for the use of the Hebrews eight years after the death of Christ. In the Orient the first preachers were obviously selected among converted Jews, who were certainly quicker than pagan converts in learning well Christian teaching, and who were able to translate from the Gospel of St. Matthew. Accordingly, in the Orient the need of another written Gospel was not at once felt. Christian history testifies that St. Luke did not publish his Gospel until several years later than St. Matthew. At Rome the need of a written Gospel was felt at once. The field now was a large one, and Christian history testifies that the Gospel of St. Mark was written shortly after St. Peter founded the Church of Rome. Against the above dates of Christian history has worked the easy and noble imagination of Mr. Harnack and Company. We are not disturbed by their suppositions. In regard to a fact of ancient history, what we care for is the testimony of ancient authors. Assertions from modern authors against the testimony of ancient authors we disdain and despise. However, Mr. Harnack and his followers claim in favor of their views in this matter the early testimony of St. Irenæus. We cannot complain. The modern critic cannot help feeling that flights of imagination are ridiculous and desires to place them somewhere more satisfactorily.

But what of orthodox scholars? St. Irenæus is the very author

that cannot be trusted in this matter. In fact, this author has referred the death of Christ to the time of Claudius. Hence we realize that in the mind of St. Irenæus the chronology of everything referring to the Apostles was necessarily a confused and unsolved problem. Have orthodox scholars so lost their intellect as to be unable to remember and make use of this fact in a question of such vital interest? Moreover, the claim that according to St. Irenæus the Gospel of Mark was written after the death of the Apostles Peter and Paul does not stand. The words "excessum" and "exodon," used by St. Irenæus, do not mean death unless the word is used figuratively. St. Irenæus asserts that St. Peter and St. Paul founded the Church of Rome, and that after their departure or expulsion (from Rome), St. Mark wrote his Gospel. Unless this interpretation be first rejected as absurd in every way, the interpretation of the modern critic is wrong. But why the literal and proper interpretation should be absurd? If St. Irenæus has mistaken in giving as companion of St. Peter the Apostle St. Paul, instead of the true companion, this does not prove that St. Peter was never expelled from Rome. Dio Cassius testifies that Claudius ordered the Jews "to follow that mode of life prescribed by their ancestral custom" ("Annals of Rome," lx., 6). No fool can understand that Claudius did not want the Jews to become pagans. His decree can only be understood as a decision against the Christian Jews. Seutonius (in "Claudium," xxv.) asserts that Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome on account of their tumults caused by Christ. In such an occurrence, St. Peter was certainly the first to be expelled from Rome. Nor is it proved that St. Paul was not the companion of St. Peter. The words of St. Paul are not evident in this respect. "I have often proposed to come to you, and have been hindered hitherto." Any man who has been away from home a number of years and who is writing to his relatives might easily make use of this identical expression without implying that he had never been home before. "That I might have some fruits among you also, even as among other nations." (To Romans i., 13.) At first these other words would seem more conclusive. But we must remember that St. Paul is talking of himself. We always say that we have done nothing for a friend as yet, in the case that for him we have done less than for another and much less than we would wish to do for him. Moreover, if St. Paul accompanied St. Peter to Rome for the first mission, they only preached to the Jews in Rome, and St. Paul's letter is addressed to the Romans as to the Gentile people. The above words of St. Paul are utterly insufficient to disprove the express testimony of the Bishop of Corinth, assert-

ing that St. Peter and St. Paul proceeded together to go to found a church in Rome. Conclusions can never be trusted against express statements. The chronology of the Acts of the Apostles will help to decide the dates of the Gospels. It must be remembered that authors have delayed the death of Christ some of two and some of five years. Events of the Apostles dated from the death of Christ are mistaken of two and five years. The same events were often dated both from the death of Christ and according to the years of a Roman Emperor. Authors sometimes have tried to divide the difference. Some time they may have reached some strange conclusion. But a proper study of the ancient authors cannot fail to give sufficient evidence.

It is also necessary to maintain the historical truthfulness of what is said in the Gospels. "For whether I or they; so we preach and so you have believed. Now if Christ be preached that He rose again from the dead, how do some among you say that there is no resurrection from the dead? . . . If Christ be not risen again, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." (Paul I. to Corinthians xv., 11-14.) Some ancient authors understood from St. Paul that men's souls do not go to heaven until after their resurrection. Many a modern scholar has understood St. Paul as saying that the resurrection of Christ is the most evident miracle, without which faith would not stand. This is a shame. The resurrection of Christ is also His triumph, and has opened heaven to men. But its external evidence rests with the disciples of Christ, while the evidence of other miracles of the Gospel rests also with the whole Jewish nation. St. Paul says clearly that the Apostles have preached the resurrection of Christ. If this resurrection be not true, then the Apostles have preached something false, and consequently the whole preaching of the Apostles is vain, because it cannot be trusted any more. It is the same with the Gospels. Chronological statements cannot be supposed to convey some very deep and very hard sense. They are true or not true. If the chronology of Christ in the Gospel should prove mistaken, the whole authority of the Gospel is gone. It is true that if the early dates of the Gospels stand, then it is absurd that the chronology of Christ in the Gospels should be mistaken. But it is equally true that if the chronology of Christ in the Gospels were mistaken, the early dates of their publication becomes absurd. The fathers of the Church have based their statements of the chronology of Christ on arguments, not on testimony. The assertions of the fathers in this matter can be disproved, or even laughed at, and the authority of the fathers remains as sacred and as strong as before. But if

the chronology of Christ in the Gospels be disproved, the whole Gospels are discredited, and our faith, as far as it is based on the Gospels, is vain. Modern scholars have made Christian apologetics impossible. Unless these men open their eyes and realize the position in time, they will be responsible for a serious state of affairs, for which they must account to God and to history. The arguments of faith cannot be sacrificed without the sacrifice of faith itself.

Finally, it is necessary always and without exception to vindicate the literal meaning of everything that is said in the Gospels. To say that the literal meaning is not the true meaning when it is absurd makes no exception, as the right meaning is in this case self-evident, and is made self-evident by the literal meaning of the single words. We say always and without exception, otherwise the evidence will never be trusted. Every honest man means only that which he says. And the Evangelist is an honest man. Words, expressions manners in the Gospels must be understood according to the universal use and universal manners. These sacred books are evidently written not for literal purpose, but for the use of every Christian people. The Evangelist addresses common people, and addresses them, as it is obvious, in their common way of talking. An expression which is inaccurate when addressed to educated people is very proper with common people. Certain accurate expressions, manners in the Gospels must be understood according and offensive among common people. Circumstances which are to be explained in a book for learned men cannot be explained in a popular book without hurting the feelings of the reader, who cares for the purpose of the story and refuses to be distracted by explanations which the common people, in their simple heart and honest mind, never ask for.

"The following instances of discrepancy in detail are also found in this passage. In verse 23 we read 'the strategi cast them into prison;' in verse 24 'the jailor cast them into the inner prison.' According to verse 27, the jailor did not notice the great earthquake, but only its consequence—the opened doors! In verse 28 St. Paul is represented as perceiving or knowing the jailor's intention to kill himself, although he could not have seen him from his cell. According to the same verse, the Apostle cries out to the jailor that all the prisoners were present, although he certainly could not have known this, etc."* Among one hundred readers of St. Luke, only one or two can read him with the insolence of Mr. Harnack. Had St. Luke to care for two insolent readers, who will

* "Luke the Physician," by Adolph Harnack, translated by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson, M. A. 1907, page 113.

blaspheme against his Gospel anyhow, rather than for ninety-eight honest readers? Among the ninety-eight honest readers, St. Luke can have, suppose, eight educated people against about ninety common people. The ninety common readers cannot conform themselves to the manners of educated people. Every well educated people finds always pleasant and attractive the manners of common people. The greatest scholars find the narrative of the Gospels and of the Acts the more attractive because of their popular form. Had St. Luke told his story in the manner requested by Mr. Harnack, it would have taken at least twice as many words as he has actually used. Has Mr. Harnack the right to impose this task upon St. Luke? Can Mr. Harnack judge better than St. Luke which narrative would better impress the history of the Apostles upon the mind of the reader? Every reader can understand that the strategi could only bring the prisoners to a prison house. It is always the keeper of the prison that brings the prisoners to one cell or another. Mr. Harnack is not sincere when he wonders at the jailor who did not understand that is was an earthquake that had awakened him. Every man that should be awakened by an earthquake would not understand it unless the earthquake repeats again, or unless a man is accustomed to be awakened by earthquakes in places where they are frequent. The author is merely dishonest and insolent in saying that the jailors noticed the effect of the earthquake—the open doors! The jailor saw the doors opened, but he did not refer this to an earthquake. He thought that the prisoners had forced the doors. St. Paul could not see the jailor. But obviously the Apostle heard the jailor screaming in despair. The fact that St. Paul cried "with a loud voice" shows that he had to overcome the voice of the jailor. Finally, St. Paul knew that the prisoners had not fled, because they would have faced the jailor, who certainly ran to the prison at once. It is also possible that the prisoners had come together. It is again possible that the prisoners were talking to each other about what had just happened, and that St. Paul was hearing their voices, like the prisoners had heard him praying. Why should we care of details which cannot change the nature of the wonderful facts, nor give them the least illustration? We must read the Gospels with the spirit of honest, common people, with an easy heart and a bright mind. They are very simple books, but the greatest human intellect will be short to understand all the meaning. The more we study the Gospels, the more we shall love them and the better we shall understand them. We must read neither like fools nor with insolent spirit.

A Catholic congregation has met in church to pray before a shrine

of the Blessed Virgin, and to ask for needed rain. The statue of the Virgin moves its eyes visibly and repeatedly to indicate that the prayers are accepted. Immediately the rain comes. After the event the Catholic scholars and, indeed, often the Catholic clergyman himself, will declare that such an event is not a miracle. What a base ingratitude! The freethinker will assert that sane people are mad; that looking is not to look, and seeing is not to see! We cannot complain. He has no faith. He is determined not to have any. He is interested in denying miracles at any cost. But what of the Catholic scholar and the Catholic clergyman? For God's sake, what can all this mean? It is not possible to care for faith and to despise the arguments of faith. It is not possible to love God and to reject or belittle any of His favors to men. Our faith has degenerated. Let us frankly acknowledge the fact so that we may make our amendment possible. We must learn to appreciate modern miracles, to study them and give them a large place in Christian apologetics. They are most effective. The Apostle tells us that before we can seek God we must first know that God exists, and that He rewards those who seek Him. The knowledge of the existence of God will make us realize our duty to obey Him, and His reward will stimulate our interest in seeking Him. Let us seek Him now and never cease from seeking Him. Let us learn always more of His law as well as of His goodness. It never can be enough to obey God, to trust God and to enjoy Him. Let us put no limit to our faith, no limit to our hope, no limit to our charity, no limit to our worship. Let us keep faithful to God all the time and by every means. A man cannot put a limit to his Christian virtues without ceasing from seeking God.

In matters of faith, let us treasure every argument for our faith. Let us assume the truthfulness of the Gospels and of everything that is written in them, and in all the sacred books. Let us make treasures of modern miracles. Let us safeguard our faith in all its integrity and the arguments of faith in every respect, in all their number and in all their strength.

Francis Valitutti.

Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

GOING A-FISHING WITH THE POETS.

Where the pools are bright and deep,
Where the gray trout lies asleep,
Up the river and over the lea,
That's the way for Billy and me.
—James Hogg, "A Boy's Song."

SO ALL you merry anglers who would a-fishing go take Billy for your guide and learn what a splendid string of finny prizes are to be gathered from the pages of poetry. For the poets have not neglected fish and fishing, and there are hundreds of such references to be found in their lines, expressing joy over landing a good catch, describing habits or characteristics noticed, praising beauty or agility or pointing a good moral:

As when the timorous trout I wait
To take, and he devours my bait,
How poor a thing, sometimes I find,
Will captivate a greedy mind.—Izaak Walton.

The trout, you will find, is the favorite fish of both American and European poets, though each writes of a different kind of trout. The river or brown trout (salmo fario) is the common European species and the one usually implied in poems from over the water, while the American poet-angler generally writes of the speckled trout (salvelinus fontinalis). Alexander Pope says that one of the charms of Windsor Forest streams is "swift trout, diversified with crimson stains"; Tennyson calls them "lusty trout"; James Thomson declares that spring is "the time, while yet the dark-brown water aids the guile, to tempt the trout"; Andrew Lang speaks of "big trout that in the twilight leap," and William Wordsworth mentions one proud angler who holds between his hands

. . . a smooth blue stone,
On whose capacious surface see outspread
Large store of gleaming crimson-spotted trouts;
Ranged side by side, and lessening by degrees
Up to the dwarf that tops the pinnacle.

The speckled trout has been called "the finned chameleon of the brook," which aptly describes the fact that it seems to change its color according to the way it is seen. Longfellow tells of

. . . leaning o'er the bridge of stone
To watch the speckled trout glide by

And float through the inverted sky
Still round and round the baited hook.

The following two stanzas are good descriptions of the beauty of the speckled or brook trout, as all anglers will no doubt agree:

The wily trout within the rapid's glide,
Alert and watchful, heads the rushing stream,
While in his shimmering and darting side
The colors of the rainbow brightly gleam.
—Alfred Townsend, "Summer."

As drawn from out his pebbly hold,
Brightly against the forest mould,
Vermilion, silver, black and gold,
The brook trout lies.
—Ernest McGaffey, "The Brook Trout."

And, like the poet below, every trout-fisher has noticed how

Dashes and air-bells all about
Proclaim the gambols of the trout.—A. B. Street.

The warm, sunny days of midsummer are the minnow's delight, and there is nothing in all nature, not even contented cows chewing the cud in shaded pools, or far-away cuckoos intoning their warning of rain to come to-morrow, or an idle boy drowsing over his line on the osier-bordered river-bank, seems to get as much unalloyed pleasure in the long, lazy hours as this finny midget. And this carefree enjoyment of summer and sunshine has appealed to many a poet as the very epitome of peace. John Keats has recorded a faithful and beautiful description of their fondness for basking in the sunshine, and also of their extreme sensitiveness to shadow or whatever threatens to destroy their perfect comfort:

. . . pebbly beds
Where swarms of minnows show their little heads
Staying their wavy bodies 'gainst the streams,
To taste the luxury of sunny beams
Tempered with coolness. Now they ever wrestle
With their own sweet delight, and ever nestle
Their silvery bodies on the pebbly sand.
If you but scantily hold out the hand,
That very instant not one will remain;
But turn your eye, and there they are again.

These same characteristics have been sympathetically noted in the following lines:

> . . . like a shoal
> Of darting fish that on a summer morn
> Come slipping o'er their shadows on the sand,
> But if a man who stands upon the brink
> But lift a shining hand against the sun
> There is not left the twinkle of a fin.—Tennyson.

> The startled minnows dart in flocks
> Beneath the glimmering amber rocks,
> If but a zephyr stirs the brake.
> —Anna B. Averill, "Birch Stream."

> And as I near the rushy brink
> The sparkling minnows, where they lie
> With silver bellies to the sky,
> Flash from me in a shower and sink.
> —Robert Buchanan.

Henry Tuckerman, near enough to the water to see without being seen, notices the immobility of "speckled minnows poised below," but that a minnow without motion is almost impossible, even when undisturbed, that they must express their joy in living by some motor means, is the observation of most poets. Jean Ingelow, leaning over one of "The Four Bridges" which form the subject of a poem by her, looks into

> A deeper sky, where, stooping, you may see
> The little minnows darting restlessly.

Tennyson's minnows, in the following stanza, although in more turbulent water than the pool which Jean Ingelow terms "a deeper sky," are less uneasy:

> Or from the bridge I leaned to hear
> The milldam rushing down with noise,
> And see the minnows everywhere
> In crystal eddies glance and poise.

The following three quotations, from as many American poets, are all nearly "still-life sketches," but not quite, owing to the active nature of the subject:

> Where the gurgling brooklets o'er the gravel slide,
> We watched the minnows, silver-shimmering, glide.
> —Lloyd Mifflin.

Where water flows, within whose lazy deeps
Like silvery prisms where the sunbeams drowse,
The minnows twinkle.—Madison Cawein.

The minnows through the water slid
Pellucid shadows, vague as dreams.
—Ernest McGaffey.

The last quotation is very pleasing, "pellucid" combined with "shadows," "slid' and "vague as dreams," making a perfect description of minnows enjoying a sunbath. But the minnow does not find life all peace and sunshine, and though his troubles are not of his own making, they require that his wits be wide-awake if he is to escape with a scale:

(Waterlilies) yield their lap to catch the minnow springing
Clear from the stream to 'scape the ruffian pike,
That prowls in disappointed rage beneath
And wonders where the little wretch found refuge.
—James Montgomery.

For "the ruthless pike, intent on war," "the ravenous ged, with his teeth like a saw," "maskenozha" (to give him his Indian name), "the tyrant of the watery plains," to quote Alexander Pope, or, according to Edmund Spenser, "the greedy pike" is

Hard tyrant there by right of might,
An ageless autocrat;
Whose good old rule is Appetite,
And subjects fresh and fat.
—Anon., "The Old Fish Pond."

Hist! That's a pike! Look—nose against the river,
Gaunt as a wolf—the sly old privateer;
Enter a gudgeon. Snap—a gulp, a shiver—
Exit the gudgeon. Let us anchor here.
—Austin Dobson.

For in spite of his greedy cannibalism, or perhaps because of it, the pike makes both good fishing and good eating. Being an expert angler, or rather seiner, himself, he puts up a good fight when hooked, so that

. . . should you lure
From his dark haunt, beneath the tangled roots
Of pendant trees, the monarch of the brook,
Behooves you then to ply your finest art.
—James Thomson.

William Browne in "Britannia's Pastorals" gives a long description of how to play the fish until tired, and then how to draw him in without losing him. Hiawatha, however, would not drop his hook to maskenozha, and laughed him to scorn, because he was not the king of fishes. For it was not such small fry as yellow perch and sunfish and pike he was after, but the sturgeon nahma, mishe-nahma, king of fishes, which he killed, too, after the desperate contest described in canto eight of the song. So, of course, Hiawatha would have scorned the pickerel, or, as its name means, "little pike," which is a smaller brother of maskenozha, and whose Indian name, according to Whittier, is kenoza. But the pickerel, "swift and slim," and the muskellunge (Ojibway Indian maskinonge, "ugly fish"), a third member of the pike family, are not scorned by Ernest McGaffey:

> Then suddenly the lithe rod bends,
> And swift the tense, taut line extends
> As all at once from watery lair
> A watchful pickerel lurking there
> Drops like a panther on the prey,
> Strikes, feels the hook and darts away.
>
> Then all at once a mighty fish upsprings,
> The rod bends double and the bright reel sings,
> As from the depths a giant muskellunge
> Vaults and evanishes with a sudden plunge.

This same poet, proud possessor of "a rod for bass and wall-eyed pike, of split bamboo and long and lithe," in another poem, watching a "Boy Fishing," notes the young angler's humble tackle and almost equally humble catch:

> While bends the switch as quick he lifts
> A wriggling sunfish through the air.

Maurice Thompson, however, is fond of "ugudwash, the sunfish, the bream with scales of crimson," which Hiawatha jeered so unmercifully, and wrote a poem in its honor, of which this is one stanza:

> In the cool, clear stream
> Where the white pebbles gleam
> You glide through numerous ways of shade and sun,
> Where currents of untroubled pleasance run.

Thrills of most exquisite
Rare happiness flit
Ever across the crystal of your life,
Unsmitten of any dissonance or strife.

The gamy, beautiful, luscious bass has not escaped the poet's eye, nor would he if he could:

Sometimes, far out, the surface breaks,
As some proud bass an instant shakes
His glittering armor in the sun,

says James Whitcomb Riley, and so describes at one and the same time this fish's well-known habit of leaping out of the water for food or for pleasure and its blue-black glossed-with-bronze coat-of-mail. "A black bass leaped for a dragon-fly and struck the spray from the sleeping water," says Ernest McGaffey in one poem and in another:

Then up from the depths a silver gleam
Quick flashes, like a jewel bright;
As lightning cleaves the sombre sky,
The black bass rises to the fly.

While one would lack the sense of taste altogether if his mouth did not water at the very thought of such a "Fisherman's Feast" as Eugene Field praises so attractively:

Of all the gracious gifts of spring
Is there another can surpass
This delicate, voluptuous thing,
This dapple-green, plump-shouldered bass?

But to many an enthusiastic angler the sport's the thing, and he doesn't demand any great gaminess or beauty or even food value in his finny prize, if only he can enjoy the pleasure of just fishing on and on in the sunshine and zephyrs:

No high ambition may I claim—
I angle not for lordly game
Of trout or bass, or weary bream—
A black perch reaches the extreme
Of my desires, and "goggle-eyes"
Are not a thing that I despise.
A sunfish, or a "chub," or "cat"
A "silver-side"—yes, even that!

—James Whitcomb Riley.

Who cannot remember their first success at fishing and how, as George Eliot so vividly recalls:

> And all my soul was quivering fear, when lo!
> Upon the imperiled line, suspended high,
> A silver perch!—"Brother and Sister."

The perch, however, is not to be sneered at, for it is a catch grown anglers are proud to secure, being a bold biter, handsome in its well-marked coloring and excellent eating. "The sahwa, like a sunbeam in the water," Longfellow calls it; other poets describe it as "striped," "barred-backed," "silver-ribbed," "hurkle-backed," "the bright-eyed perch with fins of Tyrian dye" (Pope), and one poet imagines that "the perch in brazen coat is the mermaid's golden shuttle." Most youthful anglers indeed are quite proud with just

> . . . A few
> Little shiners on our stringers, with their tails tiptoein' bloom,
> As we dance 'em in our fingers all the happy journey home,
> —(James W. Riley)

while one grown-up is so happy just to sit and hold a fishing pole in his hands that the very poor quality of fish he is hauling in doesn't worry him in the least:

> There I sit and watch the water with a lazy kind of gaze,
> While the cork goes idly dancing with the motion of the waves,
> And the sun steals through the branches in a sort of fettered light,
> And I feel I own the nation when the bullheads bite.
> —W. E. Hutchinson.

"The yellow carp, with scales bedropped with gold," is almost as sleepy and sluggish as a bullhead, and this has been commented upon by more than one poet:

> The lazy fins of the old gray carp
> Almost too idle to eat their bread.
>
> And swinish carp were snoring loud
> Around the anchored boat.

The most popular member of the carp family is the goldfish, which three different poets, Lowell, Wordsworth and Hartley Coleridge, have honored with complete poems. But as this species, imported from the East for ornamental purposes merely, is not to be angled for, we will leave it for "the bubble-making bream," "the dace with coat of silver," "mullets that drift in lazy schools,"

and "here and there a grayling," stopping to observe, with Holmes, that

> The fish called the flounder, perhaps you may know,
> Has one side for use and another for show;
> One side for the public, a delicate brown,
> And one that is white, which he always keeps down.
> —"Verses for After Dinner."

Of course, the poet, like the angler, would have lines for "the silver eel, in shining volume rolled" (Pope):

> I wonder if still the young anglers begin,
> As I did, with willow-wand, packthread, and pin;
> When I threw in my line with expectancy high
> As to perch in my basket, and eels in a pie.—Eliza Cook.

William Sharp looks

> . . . into shining pools where slow
> The silver eel twists to and fro,

and Richard Millikin in "The Groves of Blarney" finds "comely eels in the verdant mud," which praise "Connel of Dee" would deride as too much blarney, since

> At the sight of an eel he would shudder and shake,
> It almost deprived him of breath.
> —James Hogg, "Connel of Dee."

Connel would surely believe Alfred Cochrane's statement, "I heard the loud squeals, when you landed the eels." John Skelton admits that "A slipper holde the taile is of an ele," with which Lowell and Shakespeare agree:

> Fust sure, then not, jest as you hold an eel,
> I knowed, an' didn't.—"Bigelow Papers."

Moth. "I will praise an eel with the same praise."
Armado. "What, that an eel is ingenious?"
Moth. "That an eel is quick."—"Love's Labors Lost."

The muscular irritability of the eel has also been noticed, both its movements after the skin has been removed and its restlessness during thunder storms:

Lear. "O me! my heart, my rising heart!—but down."
Fool. "Cry to it, nuncle, as the cockney did to the eels when she put them i' the paste alive; she knap'd them o' the coxcombs with a stick and cried, 'Down, wantons, down."—"King Lear."

The morn when first it thunders in March,
The eel in the pond gives a leap, they say.
—Robert Browning.

. . . thunder shall not so awake the beds of ease.
—Pericles.

Turning from the eel, which, lacking fins, is almost too worm-like in build to be classed even by scientists with the true fishes, the poet's fancy fits to that beautiful little creature of the sea whose highly developed locomotive organs make it appear winged rather than finned:

Under our stems, like birds before a plough,
Over the silver furrows flying-fish
Darted in flocks.—Edwin Arnold.

As the flying-fish leap
From the Indian deep,
And mix with the seabirds half asleep.—Shelley.

And sprung the flying-fish against the sun,
Till its dried wing relapsed from its brief height,
To gather moisture for another flight.—Byron.

And the flying-fish, to see them in a scurry lift and flee,
Silvery as the foam they sprang from, fragile people of the sea.
—Bliss Carman.

When I have seen thy snow-white wing
From the blue wave at evening spring,
And show those scales of silvery white,
So gayly to the eye of light,
As if thy frame were form'd to rise
And live amid the glorious skies.—Moore.

The startled flying-fish around us skim,
Glossed, like the humming-bird, with rainbow-dyes;
And as they dip into the water's brim,
Swift in pursuit the preying dolphin hies.—Epes Sargent.

These quotations, besides being gems of nature literature, bring out many a fact in the life of this strange being. The "snow-white wing" which Moore sees fitly describes the wide white borders on the fins of the common flying-fish of the Mediterranean, and his observation that the fish springs "from the blue wave" is also correct, as it makes its flight from the top of a wave. It can pass over the crest of several waves at one flight, as Arnold implies in the

words "over the silver furrows," but its passage through the air is brief, as Lord Byron says, because its fins, when dry, must "gather moisture for another flight," to escape cannibal dolphins, bonitos and such enemies. The sea-poet, Charles G. Leland, gives us one of the most charming of sailor superstitions in the couplet:

When you see a flying-fish,
Lose no time, but make your wish.

Two well-known habits of the salmon have been noticed by the poet—its yearly migration from the sea to fresh water and its ability to ascend waterfalls and dams of considerable height:

From sea to stream the salmon roam;
Sing heigh-ho!
From sea to stream the salmon roam;
Each finds a mate and leads her home;
Sing heigh-ho and heigh-ho!
Young maids must marry.—Charles Kingsley.

As the shining salmon, homeless in the sea-depths,
Hears the river call him, scents out the land,
Leaps and rejoices in the meeting of the waters,
Breasts weir and torrent, nests him in the sand,
Lives there and loves; yet with the year's returning
Rusting in the river, pines for the sea,
Sweeps back again to the ripple of the tide-way,
Roamer of the waters, vagabond and free.
—Stephen Gwynn.

Here, when the laboring fish doth at the foot arrive,
And finds that by his strength but vainly he doth strive,
His tail takes in his teeth; and bending like a bow,
That's to the compass drawn, aloft himself doth throw;
Then spring at his height, as doth a little wand,
That bended end to end, and flerted from the hand,
Far off itself doth cast; so doth the salmon vaut.
He instantly assays, and from his nimble ring
Still yarking, never leaves until himself he fling
Above the streamful top of the surrounded heap.
—Michael Drayton.

The silver salmon shooting up the fall,
Itself at once the arrow and the bow.
—William Allingham.

And up the cataract, like a flashing sword,
The silvery salmon spieled.—Robert Leighton.

Then, to adapt a quotation from Whittier, the poets have

. . . dropped their lines in the lazy tide
Drawing up haddock and mottled cod,

which last fish is the subject of a riddle by the great historian Macaulay, mentioned as a "poor-john" by Shakespeare and honored in a limerick by James Whitcomb Riley. Moreover, the poet has seen "the herring ply her scarlet oar," "the bluefish leaping as they pass," and "the mackerel shoot, over and under, like silver boats turning at will and plying under water" (Jean Ingelow). Walt Whitman in his "Poem of Joys" sings of mackerel-taking, when "voracious, mad for the hook, near the surface, they seem to fill the water for miles," while

"The mackerel is a sailor-dish,"
Said Jones, "for 'tis a sailor fish,
All drest, like us, in white and blue,
Which I do call the prettiest hue
Which all great heaven has to show."
—C. G. Leland.

What poets know of the shark, the dogfish, the swordfish, the stingray and other such sea monsters is interesting, but that is venturing into deep and even dangerous waters; this fishing-basket is already full to overflowing, so one last bit of line-casting will be for a little pack-horse to carry the plunder safely home:

Sea-minnow with this pony's crest,
Just one of Amphritite's toys
With which her mermaids coax to rest
The little stony Triton boys.
—Anon., "The Sea-Horse."

And the sea-horse, though the ocean
Yield him no domestic cave,
Slumbers without sense of motion
Couched upon the rocking wave.—Wordsworth.

Harriette Wilbur.

Duluth, Minn.

WHAT CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY OWES TO RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

THE boy growing up in the schools of the United States, equally with the boy who spends his youth in the schools of Canada or any other British dominion, is accustomed to hear that his country's proudest boast is the freedom guaranteed her citizens. Other nations may speak of glorious achievements in the arts of peace or war, or both; liberty is the special blessing secured by the Constitution under which we live. Some time later he may begin to ask himself is it not possible that the youth everywhere are taught to make the same claim for the land which gave them birth and that the claim we ourselves put forth with so much assurance is an evidence of loyalty rather than a logical conclusion founded upon the merits of the case? Or perhaps this boy, being one day asked: In what does your much-prized liberty consist; how does it manifest itself in the daily life of the people? may find himself unequal to the task.

The writer is free to confess that his first realization of the essential character of constitutional liberty came many years later than his school days, and as often happens in the realization of important truths, was entirely due to a fortuitous occurrence. A priest from France had been setting forth the iniquities of the public school system in his country, a system whose unswerving aim, it would seem, is nothing less than that of placing every child in France under the guidance of a teacher or teachers carefully selected for their entire lack of any religious sentiment whatever. His pathetic account of conditions obtaining everywhere elicited from his audience the not unusual comments: "Is it not the fault of Catholics themselves; why do they engage such teachers? If the majority in any given school section are Catholics worthy of the name, why do they not elect school trustees who will make such an appointment an impossibility?" This is, of course, exactly what would happen in the United States or Canada, but it had never before occurred to any one present that in France the ratepayers of a school section, the fathers and mothers of the children, had absolutely no voice in the engaging of the teachers for their children. A bureaucracy in Paris, even in the appointing of a teachers to an ungraded district school on the remotest height of the Pyrenees, allow no one to come between them and the accomplishment of their nefarious designs. A continuation of the discussion brought out the rather astounding information that the principles of government obtaining in the great

French Republic contemplate no scheme for the exercise of local autonomy. The jealous control of the school system is but a sample of what obtains in every branch of administration. The prefect of a department is not, as might be assumed, elected by the votes of its residents, but appointed directly by the supreme executive. Practically every public official, the parish priest included, holds office as a nominee of Paris. There are no provinces, no county councils, no local boards exercising independent jurisdiction or directly responsible to the people of any particular locality. The contrast of such a system with the method of conducting public affairs among ourselves gives some insight into the force of such terms as "constitutional liberty" or "freedom under the Constitution."

The liberty therefore which it is our special privilege to enjoy depends chiefly upon constitutional provisions for the fullest measure of local autonomy. Personal liberty requires that the individual be left in control of his own affairs whenever he is capable of doing so. The development of this principle is founded in the claim that *the smaller body should administer its own local affairs in every case where such administration has no need of coöperation* with other bodies. An outstanding exemplification of this is the theory that the Federal Government has power to legislate only in such matters as the State Governments are willing to relegate to her jurisdiction. Responsibility towards its population and towards society rests primarily with the individual State Government. Again, the independence so enjoyed by the local administration is carried down to the very smallest administrative body. The county council regulates all matters within its competence equally regardless of the wishes of State and Federal administrations. The township or incorporated village in its sphere is free from interference from the county officials and everything above. A dozen families or less, constituting a school section, are empowered to elect their own trustees and control the choice of a teacher for their children in defiance of every other executive body, from the village council to the President and his Cabinet. Goldsmith has said:

> "How small of all that human hearts endure
> That part which laws or kings can cause or cure."

It is not by Federal or State or municipal governments that our lives are shaped, our characters formed, our ills assuaged, our real happiness secured. There is another ruling body whose dominion is much smaller than the smallest of these, whose power is as great

as its domain is limited. Unless the independence of its authority is guaranteed, no people can be great, no nation can long survive. In British institutions there are no principles of liberty so prominent, in their strict observance, so jealously maintained, as those which clamor for the autonomy of the home. In this connection every one recalls the words of Edmund Burke: "The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the force of the Crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the wind may blow through it; the storms may enter—but the King of England cannot enter. All his forces dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement." Or, as Sir Edward Coke has said: "A man's house is his castle. The home of every one is to him as his castle and fortress, as well for defence against injury and violence as for his repose." One inestimable benefit in such provisions safeguarding local autonomy is the security they guarantee against party domination. That the Republican party is supreme at Washington in no way interferes with the vigor of a Democratic Administration in a given individual State. A municipal official who happens to be Republican remains untrammeled in exercising the duties of his position, even when the Democratic party holds sway both in the capital of his State and at Washington. Liberty is secured by the distribution of authority, the decentralization of power. Not in the removal of salutary restraints upon his conduct does the individual enjoy that freedom which is manhood's rightful heritage, but in a judicious distribution of authority among ruling bodies, so limiting the jurisdiction of each as to make tyranny impossible on the part of any.

Most probably it is not generally known that nearly everything that is admirable in the British Constitution and in the Constitution of the United States had its inspiration in the constitution of the great religious orders. The idea of a federation of units constituting a central organization for general government and administration, the strict autonomy of the province and the house or monastery in all that concerns local administration, election by universal suffrage, the local superior's dependence upon the good will of his subjects for a voice in the council of his order, thus foreshadowing the principle of responsible government, were all written in the constitutions of religious orders when nations called great in our day were still in the process of formation. The same guarantees of private liberty, the same principles of organization, the Church in our day insists must prevail in the constitution of every religious community that seeks her approbation. Benjamin Franklin admitted that his contribution to the Constitution of the United States was the result of studying the constitution of the Dominican Friars, and it is something more than a coincidence that St. Dominic com-

pleted his work almost contemporaneously with the signing of Magna Charta. With keenest emotions of loyalty England looks back to that day in the distant, hazy past to when her people saw the dawn of freedom breaking upon the mists of primitive autocracy and a subjection that had no redress because all was new and shapeless and unenlightened; nor does that same loyalty of England yet dream of her indebtedness to an institution, ever old and ever new, which already in the early years of the thirteenth century was wise in her laws as she is to-day, and even at that remote date capable of giving her a bulwark of liberty which seven centuries of worldly prosperity and extended dominion and widespread enlightenment has done little to improve—a bulwark she still points to as the expression of all that is lofty and true in national spirit and endeavor.

Mr. Ernest Barker, of St. John's College, Oxford, publishes a lengthy essay in support of the claim that representation of the people in the government of England, and therefore the British House of Commons, owes its existence to the Dominican Order. "The Church of the thirteenth century," he says, "shows a marked development on its institutional side, of the principle and practice of representation. Three great councils of the Church are held; representatives appear in them all. The provincial synods cease to be composed of Bishops and abbots only; representatives, first of cathedral clergy, and then—in England, but in England only—of the diocesan clergy, enter. The great orders of the friars are penetrated by representation. It appears first in the Dominicans; it is copied from them by the Franciscans. In the same century representation begins to appear in the State." "In England the development of representation in the State synchronizes with the thirteenth century. A representative Parliament begins to be seen in the middle of the century, is fully grown by its end." His arguments in support of the above are chiefly as follows:

(a) St. Dominic was a constructive statesman. (b) The organization of the Dominicans offers the most finished model of representative institutions. (c) The whole mechanism of the Dominican Order is obviously democratic in comparison with previous orders. (d) The main features of the Dominican constitution were already fixed in the year 1221 by two chapters held at Bologna under the presidency of St. Dominic in 1221. In this latter chapter the English province was established. (e) The influence of the Dominican Fathers in England during the thirteenth century is evidenced in St. Dominic being the close friend of the elder Simon de Montfort, in the first provincial being most cordially received by the great Cardinal Langton (father of Magna

Charta and father of a representative convocation) in a Dominican being named Archbishop of Canterbury in 1273 and in the special favor in which they were received by the kings and queens of the time. (f) In 1226 Cardinal Langton requires to attend convocation not only Bishops, abbots, priors, deans and archdeacons, but also *socius* from the body of which each is the head, after the model of the Dominican provincial chapter. In 1273 the diocesan clergy as well as the capitular clergy are represented in convocation. In 1280 the evolution is complete when the clergy of each diocese elect two representatives to convocation. (g) Parliamentary representation appears first in 1254; on February 11 of that year the regents, for the first time in English history, summoned knights of the shire to a central assembly, and the common people had their first representation. Here also we see representatives of the diocesan clergy meeting in a national Parliament along with the knights of the shire.

Mr. Barker says in conclusion: "The creative political thought of the Middle Ages is clerical: the clergy create the thought of monarchy proper as opposed to mere feudal suzerainty; they create or re-create the Holy Roman Empire; they create the Crusade as an idea and an institution. May we not hold, in the light of our evidence, that they go far to create representation?

With the restoration of religion after the French Revolution, there prevailed a marked distrust of everything that smacked of democracy and a consequent reaction in favor of monarchy, implying even a greater or less tolerance of autocratic forms of government. Catholics, both clergy and people, were actuated by this spirit. It was necessarily reflected in the religious institutions which came into existence about that time. Several communities with simple vows had their origin in France during the years immediately following. The majority of these—whether institutes of men or women—shared in this characteristic. All power, in the last analysis, was vested in a superior general, who held office for life. Even minor appointments were made by him, and in the adjustment of matters of gravest import the function of his council was no more than advisory; their unanimous decision might at any time be set aside. The good men and women of that day evidently did not perceive the dangers possible under this system of centralized government. It is significant that a similar system of centralization developed by the bureaucracy which now governs France, and developed to an extent unknown in the history of the world before was the instrument which made possible the complete expulsion of religious bodies from that country.

A new era in the history of these organizations came fifty or sixty years later. It came when their several constitutions were presented

at Rome for approval. A number of changes absolutely radical were pronounced necessary before any further steps could be taken. The one prevailing objection calling for reconsideration was an evident forgetfulness of the necessity for limitation and distribution of authority. To facilitate this process of reform, as well as to provide against repetition of these in the future, the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars drafted the world-wide celebrated *Normae*—to all intents and purposes a model constitution for communities with simple vows. Since that time every institute not already enjoying final approbation from Rome has been requested to bring its constitution, as far as possible, in conformity with the plan set forth in the *Normae*. The principles of government formulated in this document are interesting in their enforcement of the idea of local autonomy, and coming to us with the highest ecclesiastical sanction, are deserving of some brief study. In their general plan the feature of peculiar interest to the historian is their striking resemblance to the Dominican constitution adopted as early as the year 1221 in a chapter presided over by St. Dominic himself.

Following are some of the provisions recommended by the *Normae:* Every religious congregation whose members multiply to any extent is supposed to recognize three seats of administration—the house, the province, the general executive. The fundamental fact in determining their respective relations is a strict insistence upon the autonomy of the subordinate body, the house or residence. Individual members are to understand that it is the head of their residence, the local superior, with whom they have to deal primarily and directly in all the affairs of their daily life. He is their superior, their father, their guide. He has to provide for their maintenance, assign them their work, support them in their difficulties, watch over their conduct, be responsible for their health, encourage and assist them in the work of their own personal sanctification. His claims upon their obedience he can enforce by any penalty—short of expulsion from the institute. His jurisdiction over his subjects is on a level with that which a Bishop can exercise over his clergy and extends to all details of religious life.

The individual member on his side is protected against abuse of this authority by several effectual safeguards: (1) The local superior is elected for a term of three years only; he may be elected for a second term, but there is no authority within the institute to continue him in office longer than six years. (2) The local superior is given a council which he must consult in every affair of moment and which in grave matters decide what action is to be taken. (3) The individual subject is always free to appeal from the ruling of his local superior to the decision of the

provincial, and again from the provincial to the superior general. The provincial's decision is, however, invalid unless arrived at after consultation with the local superior. So also with regard to the decision of the general. The province being an aggregation of houses, the jurisdiction of the provincial and his council is primarily concerned with the mutual relations existing between these units. The locating of members among the different houses of the province in view of their several needs and circumstances is peculiarly his function. He is also a provincial inspector. It is his duty to examine regularly the conditions prevailing within the houses of his jurisdiction and insist upon necessary corrections and reforms. Since candidates to the institute are admitted as members of a province and have no claims on any particular house, their reception to the novitiate and advancement to profession come under the provincial jurisdiction. It is a first principle that every province have its own novitiate and its own house of studies, and as a consequence the administration supporting these institutions is charged with their proper management. Since the individual belongs to the province, it is the province, not the particular house, which takes care of the aged and invalided.

As in the case of a local superior, the provincial is supported by a council whose advice is necessary to the validity of his measures, and who in important matters, such as the election of superiors or the admission of candidates to the novitiate or to profession, control the decision and assume full responsibility. In the adjustment of these questions each member of the council exercises the same authority as the provincial himself.

Speaking of the general administration of an institute the most highly commended treatise on religious government, the excellent work of Monsignor Battaudier says: "There are very few things which the superior general can do."

As the province is an aggregation of houses, so the community is in practice a federation of provinces. The superior general, therefore, is chiefly concerned with the general policy of the institute, and is the supreme court of appeal in all difficulties which may arise. He has also a veto power in the appointment of superiors and in the admission of members, but can take no initiative upon these questions. The council which is given him to exercise an authority parallel to that obtaining in local and provincial administrations. Although houses and possessions come under the immediate jurisdiction of the body whose purposes they serve, all property belongs to the institute in general. In keeping with this condition is the regulation that every alienation of property or outlay of any consequence must have the authorization of the general executive.

The manner of electing these several executive bodies makes ample provision also for consulting the opinions and wishes of individual members. The principle of representation which lies at the bottom of all organized democracy constitutes the basis of appointment in religious communities. The general chapter is the federal parliament of the institute. The first officers, the superior general, his assistant and councilors, the general treasurer, are elected by a majority of votes in this assembly for a limited term. For their action during that term they are responsible to the general chapter. The composition of the general chapter guarantees that the controlling voice in its deliberations rests with the members chosen directly by the several provinces, each province having the right to send three delegates of its own choice.

To preserve to the provinces the fullest possible measure of autonomy, no elections or appointments can be made by the general chapter unless those of the general officers. Each province has its own chapter, or provincial parliament so constituted as to secure the controlling voice therein to the representatives of the individual houses. To this chapter is entrusted the election of the provincial executive, the provincial superior, his assistant and councilors. These in turn appoint to all positions of superiority or local administration. It is worthy of note in passing that, though not a general law of the Church, the constitution of the Dominican Order goes one step further and enacts that the superior of a house shall be chosen by the members living in that house at the time.

The last and the best and the youngest must be treated as a rational being and his feelings no less than his convictions must receive due consideration. Every aggregation of human beings will grow stronger and better according as it profits by the enlightenment and conscientious deliberation of all its memberes. Those exercising the highest authority will do full justice to the peculiar duties of their position in proportion as they confide to subordinate officers the freest exercise of authority compatible with their respective positions. Members of local subordinate administrations are rational beings and act as such. They can never give the best results under any system which requires them to forego all deliberation and become mere machines to carry out the wishes of those in higher authority. So long as we are dealing with human beings we must be prepared to admit that if it is always men of highest ability and virtue who are chosen to deal with the important affairs and far-reaching interests of a nation or an institution, there are always others—less able and less virtuous, if you will—who are still capable of dealing with less important interests in their own immediate surroundings; that if those above are capable of discussing ways and

means in matters of greater importance, the less gifted and powerful may discuss ways and means in matters of less importance; that no one head or executive has time and opportunity to look after every detail, and that within his own limited sphere of jurisdiction every responsible person demands some scope for initiative. Local autonomy, local self-government is a logical consequence of man's rational nature and free will, and Holy Church seven centuries ago as to-day imposes this upon her religious organizations as a fundamental principle of government.

M. V. Kelly, C. S. B.

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A SOLILOQUY OF LOVE.

(By Hugh of St. Victor.)

PROLOGUE.

TO THE beloved Brother G. and other servants of Christ living at Hamerisleve, Hugh, the servant of your holiness, that you may walk in one peace and arrive at one rest. The Soliloquy of Love, which is entitled the "Soul's Pledge," I send to your charity, that you may learn where you should seek true love and how you ought to excite your hearts to celestial joys by spiritual meditation. Therefore, dearest brother, I ask this, that you should accept this in memory of me, not because it is specially sent to you, neither does it exclude the others, because it is commended to all in common, nor does that diminish the prerogative of your office. I am unwilling to provoke you by appearing to dictate to you, but I could not hide the expression of my devotion to you.

Salute Brother B. and Brother A. and all the others, whose names, if I cannot now enumerate in this present letter, nevertheless I trust that all may be written in the Book of Life. Farewell.

THE SOLILOQUY OF LOVE.

Man: I will speak in secret to my soul, and in a friendly conversation I shall demand of her what I desire to know. No stranger is admitted, but we will converse alone with an open conscience. For thus I shall not be afraid of seeking hidden things, nor be ashamed of answering truly. Tell me, I ask, O my soul, what it is which you love above all things? I know that your life is love, and I know that without love you could not exist. But I should like you to confess to me without shyness what you would choose to love above everything. I will tell you, moreover, that you may understand more clearly what I inquire of you. Look at the world and all things that are in it. There you find many beautiful and alluring things which entice the human affections and according to the various delights of using them kindle the desire of enjoying them. Gold has its splendor and precious stones have theirs, the comeliness of the flesh has its beauty, painted pictures and beautiful clothes have color. Such things are infinite. But why should I enumerate them to you? Behold! you know all these things, you have seen almost all. You have experienced many. Now you recall that you have seen and still see many things, in which you may test and prove what I say. Tell me, therefore, I entreat you, what of all

these things you would make specially your own, which only is to be embraced, in which you would always take delight. For I am sure that either you love something out of all these things that are seen, or if you now disregard them all, you have something which you love before all things.

The Soul: Just as I am not able to love what I never saw, so of all these things which are seen I could still love something; nevertheless of all these things which are to be beloved above all things I found none. For I have now learned by many trials that the love of this world is false and transitory, when that which I had chosen for myself perished, or which I was forced to lose or to change when something which pleased me better arrived. Thus, uncertain, still I waver, longing and yearning while I am neither able to be without love nor to find true love.

Man: I rejoice that at least you are not fixed in the love of temporal things, but I grieve that you are not resting in the love of eternal things. You would be more unhappy if you should make your home in exile, but now, because you are wandering in exile, you must be called back to the way. You might make your home in exile if in this transitory life you wish to have eternal love. But now you wander in exile, because while you are drawn by the desire of temporal things, you do not find the love of eternal things. But the great foundation of saving grace is possible to you because you have learned to change your love into a better, and because you will be able to snatch yourself from the love of all temporal things if something more excellent is shown to you which you should embrace more thankfully.

The Soul: How is it possible that what cannot be seen can be proved? And how can that which cannot be seen be loved? Certainly if there is not true and permanent love in temporal things, which are visible, what is invisible is not an object of love; eternal misery always pursues the living, if enduring love is not to be found. For no one is able to be happy without love, because surely it is known that he only is miserable who does not love that which is. Nay, indeed, who should pronounce that man happy who, forgetful of human ties, of society, scorning peace, persists in loving only in a certain selfish and miserable love? It is necessary, therefore, that you should either approve the love of those things which are seen, or if you deprive me of this, you should show me other things which may be loved more beneficially and more agreeably.

Man: If you judge that these temporal things around you ought to be loved because you see a certain beauty of their own kind in them, why do you not rather love yourself, who surpass in your outward appearance the beauty and loveliness of all temporal

things? O, if you could see your face you would certainly know how deserving of blame you will be when you judge anything outside you worthy of your love.

The Soul: The eye sees everything; it does not see itself, and in that light in which we perceive other things we do not see our own face, in which the light is placed; men know their own faces by hearsay, viz., by information supplied from outside oftener than by actual sight, unless you mean a mirror of a higher kind, in which I may recognize and love the face of my heart, for any one would most justly call him foolish who to feed his love should constantly consider the likeness of his own face in a mirror. Therefore, because I do not know my face and what sort of appearance it has to be contemplated, I more easily stretch out my affections to those things which are seen to be admired, especially because love is never allowed to be solitary, and in a measure love now ceases to be love if it does not diffuse the brotherly power of reciprocating love to another.

Man: He is not alone with whom God is, nor is the power of love extinguished, therefore, if his love is restrained from mean and vile things. He rather does injury to himself who admits to his affections shameful things, or at least things that are unworthy of his love. First, therefore, it is necessary that every one should consider himself, and when he has recognized his dignity, lest he should do any injury to his own love, he should not love the mean things. For those things which by themselves are considered beautiful become trivial when compared with more beautiful objects. And as it is silly to join ugly things to beautiful, so it is unseemly in every one to make those things which have only a low and imaginary beauty equal to the most beautiful ones.

You do not wish, O soul, to have a solitary love, nor should you be willing to have a low kind of love. You should seek one love alone, seek only the choicest. You know that love is a fire, and fire certainly seeks fuel that may burn. But beware lest you cast into it that which causes only smoke and smell. This is the power of love, that it obliges you to be such as that which you love, and also that you should be transformed into the likeness of Him to whom you are joined by affection, in a measure, by that companionship of love. Therefore, O soul, consider this excellence and understand what beauty you ought to love.

Your face is not invisible to you. Your eye sees nothing well if it does not see itself. For when it is clear enough to contemplate itself, no strange likeness from outside, nor any shadowy imagination of truth is able to deceive it. Why, if perhaps that internal vision of yours is obscured and you are not sufficient to contemplate

yourself, as is becoming and expedient, why do you not submit to another man's judgment, at least, that which you ought to know concerning yourself? You have a Spouse, but you know it not, who is the loveliest of all, but you have not seen His face. He sees you, because unless He had seen you He would not have loved you. He is unwilling still to present Himself to you, but He sent gifts; He gave you a pledge, a token of love, a sign of affection. If you could know Him, if you could see His beauty, you would not doubt any more of your own excellence. For you would know that One so beautiful, so lovely, so handsome, so unique in His aspect, would not have been captivated if singular beauty and something to be admired above others had not attracted Him. What, therefore, will you do now; you are not able to see Him, because He is absent? And so do you not fear nor blush to do Him any injury, because you despise His special love, and impudently and disgracefully abandon yourself to unlawful pleasures. Do not do this. If you are not yet able to know what He who loves you is like, at least consider the pledge which He gave you. Perhaps in this same gift of His which is in your possession you will be able to know with what affection to love Him, with what labor and diligence you ought to reserve yourself for Him. His pledge is distinguished, His gift noble because it was not seemly that a great man should give small things, nor wise that He should have given great things for little. Great, therefore, is what He gave you, but greater is what He loves in you. Great, therefore, is what He gave.

What did your Spouse give you, O soul? You expect, perhaps, and do not know what I am about to say. You consider from whom you may have received anything great, and do not find yourself to have nor to have received anything of which you are able to boast. I will tell you, therefore, that you may know what your Spouse gave you. Look at the whole world and consider if there is anything in it which does not serve you. All nature directs her course to this end, that it may minister to your wants and attend equally to your pleasures and come to the assistance of your necessities in unfailing profusion. The heaven, the earth, the air, the seas and all that is in them do not cease to accomplish this universally. The course of the seasons contributes to this by annual renewing and by renovating old things with renewed parts, remodeling what has fallen into decay, restoring what has been brought to nought with perpetual sustenance. Who, then, do you think instituted this? Who taught this to nature, that thus by one consent she might serve you? You accept the benefits and you do not know the Author. The gift is manifest, the Giver is hidden. And, nevertheless, your reason does not permit you to doubt that this is not your

due, but a gift at another's disposal. Whosoever, therefore, He is who gave you all this and so much more, He has conferred much on you. He is to be loved much who could give so much; and He who willed to give so much loved much. Therefore, loving so much and being so worthy to be loved much in His gift, it is shown that it is as foolish not to desire more love of One so powerful as it is impious and perverse not to love again when so loving. See therefore, rash and imprudent soul, see what you do when you desire to love and to be loved in this world. All the world is subject to you and you (I do not say the whole world, but certainly some considerable portions of it, though neither preferably by reason of its beauty, nor necessary in point of utility, nor even just in point of quantity, nor transcendent in point of beauty); all this you do not hesitate to include in your fellowship. If indeed you love these things, love them as subject to you, love them as supplying your wants, love them as gifts, love them as the pledge of your Spouse, as the presents of a friend, as the gifts of your Lord. Thus, nevertheless, that you may always remember what you owe to Him, nor love these things in preference to Him, nor equally with Him, but you shall love these things for His sake, and Him through these things and above all these things.

Beware, O soul, lest you should be called not a spouse, though God forbid, but a hireling, if you love the presents of the Giver more than the affection of the Lover. You do a greater injury to His love if you accept His gifts and nevertheless do not return His love. Either, if you can reject His gifts, or if you cannot reject them, return His love with love. Love Him, love yourself because of Him; love His gifts because of Him; love Him that you may enjoy Him; love yourself because you are loved by Him; love His gifts because they are given by Him; love Him for yourself and yourself for Him; love His gifts to you from Him because of yourself. This love is pure and chaste, having nothing sordid, nothing bitter, nothing transitory, beautiful in chastity, blessed and joyful in sweetness, steadfast through eternity.

Soul: Your words have kindled me. I perceive an interior zeal and fervor. For although I have not yet seen Him whom you declare to be so lovable, nevertheless by the sweetness of your words and the gentleness of your exhortation you kindle in me, I confess, the love of Him. I am forced by your arguments to love Him above all things, from whom I see that I have received all things in token of His love. Nevertheless, there still remains one thing which must diminish my happiness in His love, unless that also, like other things, is wiped away by your consoling hand.

Man: I promise you faithfully that there is nothing in this love

which ought reasonably to disquiet you. Nevertheless, lest I may seem to appeal more to your credulity than to give testimony to the truth, I wish that you would confide to me what disturbs you, that by my arguments again you may be more strengthened in the desire of Him.

Soul: I am willing to remember what you tell me, but I cannot forget that a little before when you recommended an allowable and honorable love you said that it ought to be not only the one love, but the only one chosen that is founded on being loved alone, and in loving one only, because love is not perfectly praiseworthy in a man, either if another is loved with him or if he only is loved who is not to be loved in the highest degree. Behold, therefore, I love the chosen and beloved One only. But I am suffering this injury to my love, that loving one I am not loved alone. For you know that this pledge of His love that you give me is common to many others, or at least to many kinds of people. In what way shall I be able to boast concerning the privilege of being loved alone, when this love, which you assure me is so great, is received, I will not say by the beasts, but in common with the animals? What does the light of the sun confer upon me more than on the reptiles and the worms of the earth? All things live in like manner; all breathe; the same food, the same drink is for all; what, then, is this which is so great? What is this which is so singular? You see surely what it is like. And so you do not show sufficiently that to love alone is fitting if you do not show Him also to have loved some one individually. I do indeed confess that these things would have been worthy of a special love if they had been given specially.

Man: Your earnestness does not displease me, because it is clear that you desire to love perfectly, because you examine so diligently the cause of perfect love. I therefore gratefully take up this discussion with you, that I may both defend the love of the best from the injury for which you plead, and at the same time restore you to the perfect love, lest by any mistrust you may waver in His love. There are three things in which you may find that which disturbs you. Learn what gifts you have received from your Spouse: some are given in common, some specially, some individually. Those are given in common which on your account serve others with you. Those are given specially which are granted on your account to many, but not to all, including you. Those are given individually which are given to you alone. Why, therefore, does He love you any the less because certain of His gifts He grants at the same time to others as well as to you? Would it have made you any happier if He had given the world to you alone? Suppose there are no men created on the earth, there are no animals; you alone possess the

riches of the world: where, therefore, is that pleasant and useful society of human intercourse, where are the comforts, where are the pleasures which you now enjoy? See, therefore, that in this He has conferred much on you, because He created these things with you for your consolation. If this world and all these things serve you, in what way, then, are they not all made for your convenience? Would you have the father of a family eat his bread alone? Would you have him drink his cup alone? Would you have him clothe himself alone? Should he alone be warmed by his fire? Should he dwell alone in his house? Nevertheless, not unjustly all is said to be his, although these have something who either through love or by subjection serve him. Therefore, whether those things which serve you or those necessary for those who minister to you, all are given to you, all are employed in your service.

Soul: You have rather cut down than eradicated what disturbed me. I complained of this, that loving only One I am not the only one loved, because I see that the pledge of love is given to others equally with me. But your arguments have convinced me of this, that those things also which I might trust were given only to me, which I should have seen were given for my benefit in common with others. I confess that you have spoken consistently enough of this, but not sufficiently of that which disturbed me. For I am here taught that all things, by which the life of irrational animals is supported, are assigned rather to my sovereignty, because even those things which nourish them are appointed for my use. Nevertheless, the privilege of a special love is not ascribed to me, because these things are not mine only, but are known to be subject to all men in a similar way, and to many truly, much more than to me. In all these things, therefore, which are granted for the use of men in common, if they indeed judge unjustly anything to be more theirs, and ascribe something specially to themselves, they err. There is, therefore, a certain special love of the Creator to men, in which indeed these men have something to boast of to other creatures, but not to each other. For what you say in asserting a special love that the society of men is given to me amongst other things, when as much is granted of them to me as of me to them, I can find nothing special in this. In this fellowship it is not only the lost glory of exclusiveness which hurts me, but the ignominy of participation. For how many unbelievers, how many wicked, how many impure are there who are able to boast in a similar way of their community of goods?

Man: It ought not to disturb you that in the use of temporal things there is the same sharing of good and evil things, neither may you judge them to be loved in a like manner by God because

you see them to share in all these things in the same way with thee. For as animals were not created on account of themselves, but on account of man, so evil men live not on account of themselves, but on account of good men. And as their life serves for the utility of the good, so everything which nourishes their life without doubt is to be ascribed to the dominion of the good. Thus for that reason the evil are permitted to live among the good that their society may influence the life of the good, to admonish them more powerfully in their happiness in those things which the evil are not able to share and to seek good things and to force them in their wickedness to love virtue more firmly; finally, that while they see them destitute of divine grace, rushing as it were down the precipice of vices, they may learn how many thanks they ought to give to the Creator for their own salvation. It may be that the cause of this divine dispensation demanded this warning for the increase of our sanctification and glorification, that as we learn from the life of beasts that the highest happiness is not in the use of these things, so also we may learn from the life of wicked men that the greatest happiness does not rule them. Therefore, these things should be granted to the good and likewise to the wicked, because otherwise the good could not believe themselves to be treated better unless they see these things to be as common to the good as to the wicked.

Therefore, do not lament any more concerning the fellowship of happiness of the wicked, nor think them to be enrolled with you in the privilege of a special love, because you have as companions the wicked in the use and government of transitory things; because, as we said just now, in this also they help much in your salvation, for they not only use these things, but they allow them to dominate their lives. But what shall I say concerning the fellowship of the good? For this alone remains for you to consider, namely, whether for this reason you may not be able to boast of the special love of your Spouse, because you are not loved by Him without the companionship of others. On this account I wish you to remember the assertion I made, which you did not judge to be wholly suitable to establish the point then and now under discussion. Therefore, I now unfold this, that I shall discuss more diligently in your presence whether truth itself requires the addition of anything to the arguments of those things we are now endeavoring to demonstrate. For I said that the fellowship of men was granted also to thee by the gift of the Creator, that you may take therein the consolation of the living, lest in a certain way by a solitary and idle life you should waste away destitute. And so as the life of the wicked is a discipline to you, so the life of the good is a comfort, who certainly are such that you ought not to reject as participators in your happiness and

love or to exclude them as companions. For if you love the good, truly something beneficial is conferred upon them, thence the love which is in you is not like that of a stranger, but rejoices them as if coming from their own friends.

Therefore, although it might be happy for you to enjoy this love alone, nevertheless it is much more blessed to delight in the same with the thankfulness of the many good, because when the affection of love is expanded in those who participate with you, the joy and sweetness of charity is enlarged. For spiritual love is made more special to each one when it is common to all. Neither is it diminished by the participation of many whose fruit is found whole, and one and the same in every one. Therefore, the fellowship of the good takes away nothing from the privilege of your special love, because your Spouse loves you in everything; those He loves on account of you and by this also He loves nothing without you. But do not fear that His mind is diverted by the love of many, as if through sympathy, and for that reason is less to individuals, because in a certain way it is seen to be shared and divided among all. For it is given to one as to all, because He would not bestow either another or a greater love on individuals if He were to love one without the participation of all. Therefore, all love One only, as all are loved by One only, because neither is any other except One able to love all only. But all love themselves in One as if one, for in the love of One they are united to make one. This love is unique, nevertheless not private, alone yet not lonely, shared but not divided, common and special to all and whole to each, neither decreasing by participation nor failing by use, nor growing old with time, ancient and modern, desirable in affection, sweet in experience, eternal in fruition, full of joy, refreshing and satisfying, not producing any fastidiousness.

Soul: Your assertions please me very much, and I confess that because I now begin from thence to desire this love more ardently, whence formerly I used to dislike it very much. Indeed, one thing yet remains which I desire, which if I am able to attain through you I shall not doubt that enough has been done for me in everything. And this is, if it be able to be proved to me in the same way, that this Spouse of chastity is present to individuals whom He loves, as He is in affection, and effect to all. And I shall not indeed be able to doubt of the affection if I know this to be true in effect.

Man: O my soul, if you persevere so very much in this undertaking nor judge yourself to be satisfied, if you do not acknowledge the gift of your Spouse to apply specially to you, I consent also fully to your petition because I know that your perseverance is born rather of devotion than of importunity. For in this also your

excellent Lover has provided for you in order that there should be nothing in which you might be able to boast specially concerning yourself, but as He gave commonly and specially, so He gave individually. Those things certainly are common which come in the use of all, as the light of the sun, the breath of the air. But special things are those which are granted not to all, but to a certain community, such as faith, wisdom, discipline. But individual are those things which are particularly bestowed upon any one person, as the principality in the Apostolate to Peter, the Apostleship of the Gentiles to Paul; the privilege of love to John. Consider, therefore, O my soul, what common things with all, what special things with some, what individual things alone you have received. In all these things He loved you, which He gave to you commonly with all or which He gave specially to some, or which He granted individually to you alone. Again, when He loved you with all these He associated you with them in the participation of His gift. He loved you before all to whom He preferred you by a special grace. You are beloved in every creature, you are loved with all the good, you are loved before all the wicked. And lest it may seem little to you that you are loved before all the wicked, how many good are there who have received less than you? But because I see you, from a desire of individual love, to strive more earnestly after those things which are given individually, although many things can be said still concerning them, in which and with whom you are loved, I wish that which has now been said to suffice. I am nevertheless unwilling that you should judge yourself to be loved too little, either in so many things or with so many, both where you have all the good as companions and the wicked as subjects, and all those things which are everywhere established for your benefit. You have seen, then, O my soul, in how many ways you are beloved, you have seen what they are with whom you are beloved: now consider you are loved before these as far as is possible. I speak to you, O my soul; you know what you have received, and it is necessary to know better still, lest you should begin to presume either in those things which you have not received, or for which you have received but have not returned thanks. Would that I might be able to recall to you in what way it has been profitable to you and pleasing to Him who gave you these things. For He gave you these things for this reason, that you might always remember Him and never grow cold and forget His love. Think first, O my soul, that at one time you were not, and that you might begin to be, this you have accepted by His gift. It was by His gift that you were made, for had you given anything to Him before you were created which has been given back by Him to you that you might become something. Nothing, in short. You

have given nothing. You could not have been able to give anything before you were made, but you have accepted freely from Him, that you might exist. To whom, therefore, are you preferred from the very fact that you were made? Who is less able to accept than he who acceptest that he may be made? And nevertheless, unless he existed to accept this something, he who was not would not be able to begin to be. Why, therefore, O my God, hast Thou made me unless because Thou didst wish me to be rather than not to be? And Thou hast loved me more than all these who did not deserve to receive that from Thee. When, therefore, O my God, Thou gavest me to be good and great, good and beautiful, Thou gavest me Thy goodness and when Thou didst give this to me Thou didst prefer me to all to whom Thou wast unwilling to give so much of Thy goodness.

O my soul, do we not say something when we say this to our God, to our God by whom we are made, made who were not, and do we not receive more than all who are not made. Thus, in sort, we do say something, and say a good deal when we say this. We ought continually to repeat that we may never forget Him from whom we have received so much good. And so if He should have given nothing more, nevertheless always should He be loved and praised by us for this very thing. But now He has given more, because He gave not only to be, but to be fair, to be beautiful, which as much exceeds nothing by its existence as it excels something by its form, because that which exists is very pleasing and the more so because it is of the same nature. But neither here does the munificence of the Giver terminate. He gave still something more and greater, He drew us to His image, He willed to draw to Himself, through a likeness, those whom He drew to Himself by love. There He gave us to be and to be beautiful, He gave us to live that we might excel both those who are not by existence and those who are disordinate and unseemly by form and who are inanimate by life. You are charged with a great debt, O my soul. You have accepted much and you have nothing of yourself, and for all these things you have nothing which you can give in return, unless you love much. For what is given through love cannot be better nor more suitably repaid than by love. You have received all this through love. For God was able to have given life to His other creatures, but in this gift He loved you more. Nor did He love you more because He found more to love in you, but because He loved you more gratuitously. He made you such that now He loves you more by merit.

The Soul: The more I hear, so much more I desire to hear. Continue, I pray, and narrate what follows.

Man: After being made and being made beautiful, after being

given to live, it is given both to feel and to discern and through the same is given love, which, unless it had gone before, nothing would have been given by the Giver, nothing accepted by the needy. How sublime and how beautiful you are made, O my soul! Why did he wish for Himself so much and so great beauty, unless He who clothed you prepared His Spouse for the bride-chamber? He knew for what end He had made you, He knew exactly what beauty befitted that purpose, and so He gave what was comely and what was comely to that degree that He might love that which He gave. He beautified the outside with the senses, the interior He illuminated with wisdom, giving the senses as the exterior ornament, wisdom as the interior garb, appending the senses like certain shining jewels outside, and decorating inwardly your interior countenance with wisdom as with natural beauty. Behold, your beauty surpasses the beauty of all gems, behold your face surpasses the beauty of all forms. It was altogether seemly that you should be such, who was to be introduced into the marriage-chamber of the celestial King. How much you are loved, and before how many are you loved, when you have been made like this. What a special gift, which is not granted to all, not granted except to the beloved and the loving. You might be very proud and much you ought to be guarded, lest you should lose such a gift and defile such an ornament and corrupt so much beauty, lest having lost it or left it unguarded you should become more miserable than you would have been if you had not received it, or had not perfected it, lest with the loss of so much beauty, the shame of deformity should torture you, and you being cast down should become viler than if you had not been received. This, therefore, was to be guarded and that to be avoided, that this being guarded might continue, and that being avoided might not happen. But see what you have done, O my soul; you have left your Spouse and with strangers you have wasted your love, you have corrupted your integrity, you have defiled your beauty, you have squandered your ornaments. You have become so vile and so disgraceful and so impure as to be no more worthy of the embraces of such a Spouse. Therefore you have forgotten your Spouse and you have not given Him worthy thanks for such a gift. You have become very wicked, and because of such wickedness your breasts are become loose, your forehead is wrinkled, your cheeks are fallen in, your eyes are languishing and dim, your lips covered with pallor, your skin dried up, your strength broken; you have become odious to these same lovers of thine.

Soul: I hoped so many trumpetings led to another end; but as I see you have said these things to my greater confusion that you may

show me more worthy of His hatred, from whom so many benefits have been received, and not safely kept, that you might prove me more ungrateful. Therefore, I should wish either that what has been said has not been established or at least that what has been done had not been proved, in order that if my self-confidence could not excuse my guilt, at least oblivion might cover my confusion.

Man: These things are said not for your confusion, but for your teaching, that you may be more submissive to Him who both made you when you were not and redeemed you when you were perishing. For in asserting His love I have asserted that also, that henceforth I may now take occasion to begin to narrate to you how much this your Spouse, who appeared so heavenly when He made you, deigned to be humbled when He redeemed you. There so sublime, here so humble, nevertheless not less amiable here than there, because neither here nor there less admirable. There He conferred great things powerfully upon you, here He bore hard things for you mercifully. For in order that He might take away from you that whence you fell, He deigned to come down here where you are that He might give back to you justly what you have lost. He deigned to suffer lovingly what you were bearing. Therefore He came down, He took up, He bore, He conquered, He restored, He came down to the mortal, He accepted mortality, He bore suffering, He conquered death, He restored man. Behold, O my soul, be confounded by such wonders, by so many benefits shown to you. Think how much He loved you, who deigned to do so much on account of you. You have been made beautiful by His gift, you were made impure by your iniquity. But you have been cleansed and made beautiful by His kindness, His love, nevertheless working both. When formerly you were not, He loved you as He made you. Afterwards when you were defiled He loved you that He might restore you, that He might make you beautiful and that He might show you how much He loved you. For only by dying did He will to deliver you from death, that He might not so much extend the benefit of pity as show the affection of love. But now He loves you with such sincere charity, as if you had remained always constant to Him, nor does He reproach you as guilty nor delay to benefit you. And if henceforth you should be willing to persevere faithfully with Him and to love Him as is becoming, and to keep your love for Him from contamination, He promises to give you greater things than the former.

Soul: Now in a certain way I begin to love my fault, because I see it profited me not a little to have done wrong: so much has become known more clearly to me by a light from Him, which with many prayers I had desired to know. O my happy fault, while He

is drawn by love to diminishing it, that same love of His for me also is shown in desiring and longing after it with all the heart. Never should I have known his love so well if I had not experienced it in so many dangers. O how happily I fell, who rose happier after falling. There is no greater love, no more sincere love, no holier love, no more ardent affection. He the innocent died for me, finding nothing in me that he could love. What, therefore, O Lord, didst Thou love in me, and love so much that Thou shouldst die for me? What didst Thou find in me which Thou hast been willing to bear so much and such hard things?

Man: O my soul, accuse yourself in the presence of the Lord! How ungrateful you have been for this and all His benefits, and how unwilling to recognize His many mercies. But that you may be able to understand still better how much you owe to Him, I wish that you should diligently direct your attention to the rest of His benefits, by following the order taken here.

Soul: I desire always to hear this, because it is so sweet to me that I should long for you to repeat the same incessantly, if I did not hasten also to hear those other things which remain to be heard.

Man: You had gone away and you had perished, and because you were taken captive by sin, He came after you that He might restore you, and He loved you so much that He paid the price of His blood for you, and with this covenant He led you back from exile and redeemed you from servitude.

Soul: I did not know how much God loved me. I ought not to be wholly vile to myself, to please God so much that He chose to die for me, lest He should lose me.

Man: And what if you should begin to consider how many and what kind of people in comparison with you have been cast out, and were not able to correspond with the grace that is given to you? Certainly you have heard how many generations of men from the beginning up to this day have passed away, who all without the knowledge of God and the price of their redemption have fallen into eternal death? Your Redeemer and Lover preferred you to all these when He granted to you this grace, which none of those merited to share. And what do you say? Wherefore do you think are you preferred to all these? Have you been stronger, wiser, nobler than all these, because you have merited to obtain this special grace? How many strong, how many noble, how many wise, how many rich were there? and nevertheless all were left and perished, being cast out; you alone were taken before all of them, and why was this done in you? You can find no cause except the gratuitous love of your Saviour. Therefore, He chose and preëlected you, He your Spouse, your Lover, your

Redeemer, your God. He chose you among all, He took you out of all and He loved you above all. He called you by His name, that His memory might be always with you. He wished you to be a participator in the truth of the name because He anointed you with that with which He Himself was anointed, the oil of joy, that He might be anointed with unction, who is called by Christ a Christian.

Soul: Much, I confess, has been conferred upon me, but I ask, if as you assert I am now taken up, what still delays that I am not able to come to the embrace of the Spouse?

Man: You do not know, then, O my soul, you do not know how foul you were, how polluted, how deformed and squalid, distracted and dissipated, full of every horror and enormity. And in what way do you expect to be introduced so quickly into that chamber of modesty and chastity, unless you are restored first by some care and labor to your former beauty? For this is what you must now expect, this is that your Spouse still withdraws His Presence from you, and does not admit you to silent embraces nor sweet kisses, because neither ought the polluted touch the pure, nor is it becoming for the disgraceful to see the beautiful, but when you shall be prepared and decently clothed, then at length you shall enter to be forevermore without confusion in the marriage chamber of your Spouse. Neither shall your former disgrace shame you when you shall have nothing disgraceful, nothing worthy of shame. First, therefore, labor to cultivate your beauty, to decorate your face, to arrange your clothing, to blot out spots, to restore beauty, to correct manners, to keep discipline, and all things at last being changed for the better, to give back to your worthy Spouse a spouse worthy of Him. I wish to say something that I may make you more cautious, lest because you hear yourself to be chosen for Him, either elation should render you puffed up, or negligence make you dissolute. Have you never heard what King Ahasuerus did when he repudiated the Queen Vashti on account of her insolence, a remarkable deed, a useful example, a serious sentence? She therefore was cast down on account of her pride; a decree was made by the King that from all his kingdom beautiful girls and virgins should be gathered together and flee to the city Susa and placed in the women's house under the care of the eunuch Egeus, who was the governor and guardian of the royal women, and that there they should receive all things necessary for women, and thus they should be clothed and decorated abundantly with all luxury, according to royal ambition, that they should be anointed for six months with the oil of myrtle and for another six months to use certain cosmetics

and powders, and thus made up and appareled they should pass from the anteroom of the women to the royal chamber, that she who out of them all should best please the King should sit instead of Vashti on the throne of the kingdom. See how many were called that one might be chosen, she named who was seen to be the more beautiful and the better dressed in the eyes of the King than the others. The King's Ministers chose many to be prepared. The King himself chose one for the bride-chamber. The first choice of the many was made according to the royal mandate; the second choice of one was made according to the King's will.

Let us consider, therefore, whether this example, perchance, is able to be adapted to the manner of which we are speaking. The King, the Son of the King of kings, came into this world, which He had created, to betroth to Himself a chosen Spouse, an only spouse, a spouse worthy of royal nuptials. But because Judea scorned to receive Him, appearing in the form of humility, she was cast out. And the Ministers of the King, that is the Apostles, were sent through the whole world to gather together souls and lead them to the royal city, that is Holy Church, in which is the home and mansion of the royal women, namely, of holy souls who are fruitful and bring forth sons, not to slavery, but to the kingdom.

Those who serve God not out of fear, but out of love, are brought forth, as it were, into the liberty of good works. Many therefore of the called enter the Church through faith and there receive the sacraments of Christ, as if they were certain ointments and antidotes, prepared for renewal and for the adornment of souls. But because it is said by the mouth of truth many are called, but few chosen: not all who are admitted to this training are chosen for the kingdom, except only those who labor to purify and cultivate themselves for this, that when they shall be introduced into the King's Presence they shall be found those whom He Himself would have chosen rather than reject. See then, where you are placed, and understand what you ought to do. For your Spouse placed you in the antechamber where the women are adorned. He gave various and divers kinds of pigments and commanded that royal food from His table should be served to you, something for health, something for refreshment, something for repairing beauty, something that is valuable for the increase of loveliness He gave. Beware, therefore, lest you are negligent in preparing yourself lest in the last hour, when you shall be brought into the Presence of this your Spouse, you shall be found unworthy (which God forbid) to be His consort. Prepare your-

self as it becomes the spouse of the King, the bride of an immortal Spouse.

Soul: You have again embittered me and pierced me not a little with fear. For from as much of your words as is given to be understood I changed the intention, but I have not escaped the danger. I changed the intention, because I am converted by Him who formerly drew me with a vague and unstable love to a special love. I did not escape the danger because, as you assert, unless I studied to show myself worthy in every way, I cannot reach the fruit of His love. It remains then that you should explain to me more diligently concerning this marriage-chamber in which the royal women are fed, and also the royal food which is given to them and of those ointments also with which they are anointed, and of all the other things which are shown either for adornment or for beauty. For I am urged by His love to spend labor henceforth on those things without which I see myself not able to arrive at the affection of love. And would that I might merit to be that one whose beauty and adornment the King will praise. How happy is she, and how much more fit to be chosen who labors to this end? How small I should esteem all this labor if I could attain to this end by my diligence. I beseech you, therefore, that you should not delay to teach me thoroughly what those remedies may be with which I ought to make my face beautiful, as I desire vehemently to please Him whose love towards me I know to be so benignant and so pleasant.

Man: It is necessary that you should do this, and I pray that He who now gives you the will to do it will also give the power of performing it. You ask what this anteroom is, seek also what the marriage chamber of the King may be. Imagine two mansions because these are now under consideration. There is then the antechamber: there is the marriage chamber. In the anteroom of the Son they are prepared for the nuptials; in the marriage chamber the nuptials are celebrated. The present Church is, as it were, the ante-chamber in which now the spouses of God are prepared for the future nuptials. The heavenly Jerusalem is, as it were, the marriage chamber of the King in which the nuptials are celebrated. After the time of adornment in the anteroom, they pass from the anteroom to the marriage chamber of the King, because they come after the time of doing good works to the participation of the fruits of those good works. But the present Church is called the ante-chamber on account of three orders of the faithful: the married, the continent and the virgins or virtuous.

Let us, therefore, see what kinds of pigments and ointments,

what food, what vestments are prepared for the adornment of the spouses. Nor is this to be passed over, that as this spouse in a certain way gratuitously loves the foul and disgraceful, so also He gratuitously grants to them for adornment every help. Neither have they anything of themselves unless they receive it of Him whereby they may please Him, in order that you may know that this also pertains to love: viz., that what you have whence you are able to adorn yourself, this also you have not from yourself, except what you have received from Him. The first is the baptismal font placed here for the washing of regeneration, in which you washed away the guilt of past crimes. Then the chrism and the oil in the unction of which you are anointed by the Holy Spirit. After this, anointed and filled with the unction of joy, you come to the table and receive there the food of the body and blood of Christ, with which interiorly nourished you cast off the hurtful leanness of past fasts, and restored with pristine fulness and strength, you become in a certain way young again. Then you put on the clothing of good works and the fruits of alms with fasting and praying, with sacred watching and other works of piety. You are adorned as with various ornaments. The spices of virtues follow the last, whose sweet odors put to flight all that foulness of the former stains, so that in a certain way you seem to yourself to be wholly changed and transformed into another and you are made more joyful, more alert and safe and sound.

The mirror of Holy Scripture is also given to you, that there you may see your face, that the composition of your adornment should have nothing less or otherwise than is becoming. What, therefore, do you say, O, my soul? Do you know whether you have yet received some of these? Certainly you were washed in the font, certainly you have received the anointing of chrism, certainly you have eaten that same food and drank that same drink at the table of the King. But perhaps you have been polluted again. You have tears with which you could wash yourself again. Again the unction has faded away in you, again you must anoint yourself with good and pious devotion. Again, by fasting daily, you have prepared yourself; again, washed by tears and renewed by the unction of pious contrition, you go again to your refreshment. See how with what pious dispensation He everywhere accompanies you. You had not, and it was given you. You had lost, and it was restored to you. You have never been deserted that you may know how much He by whom you are loved loves you. He will not lose you, and so He waits with so much patience and graciously grants to restore again all that has been negligently lost if you are willing: O, how many have now perished who have

received these things with you, but have not merited to receive again with you those things that were lost. Therefore, you are loved more than all these, because He so kindly gave back to you who were also lost that which was denied to them. And if no grace of good works has been given to you, nevertheless a good will has not been denied, but generously given by Him. If you do great works, you are mercifully made higher. If you do no great works, perhaps you receive a salutary humiliation. He knew better what was so expedient for you than you, and on this account, if you wish to think well concerning Him, understand all that is done to you by Him to be well done.

Perhaps you have not the grace of virtues, but while you are shaken by the impulse of vices you are better grounded in humility. A weak humility is greater to God than a proud virtue. Nothing therefore dare you prejudge of His disposition, but always pray to Him with fear and reverence, that as He knows He will help you if any evil shall still remain in you, He will kindly blot it out: if any good works are unfinished He will perfect them for you in the way which He shall choose, He will lead you to Himself.

What more shall I say to you? Is there anything also which I can say to show His love? I speak to you, my soul; is there anything else? What do you say? If you converse on things suitable for you, you will not be able to speak of things in which you have no concern, and of things external to you. You cannot say all. For who is able to say all things, and nevertheless we know that love is the origin of all things.

Behold, two people are born; both have the same nobility of race, the hour of birth is the same; one is left in poverty and the other is raised to riches, and love has worked both: because it humbles this one by poverty and consoles the other by abundance. This one is weak and that one is strong, that one is held lest he should do evil, that one is strengthened that he may be restored to good works, and love tries both and does not reject either. The one is illuminated by wisdom, the other is left in the simplicity of his mind, this one to despise himself, that one that he may study to know his Creator, and nevertheless love wills to be present to both. Such is the love of God towards us, neither does human infirmity suffer anything which He does not dispose to our good, so great is His goodness.

CONFESSION.

I confess Thy mercies to Thee, O my God, because Thou hast not left me, sweetness of my life and light of my eyes. What

shall I render to Thee for what Thou hast given to me? Wilt Thou that I should love Thee? And nevertheless I will love Thee, O God, my strength, my heaven, my refuge, my deliverer, my God, my helper, my protector, the horn of my salvation and my support. And how much more shall I still say: Thou art my Lord God. O my soul, what shall we do for our Lord God from whom we receive so much and so great goodness? For neither was He content to give the same good things to us as to others, but we know Him to be a special lover as much in our good things as in our evil things, that we may love Him specially as much for our good as for the evil things. Thou hast granted to me, O Lord, that I may know Thee and that I may understand many of the secret things revealed to me before others.

Thou hast left others, my contemporaries, in the darkness of ignorance, and hast infused into me before them the light of wisdom. Thou hast given to me more sincerely to follow Thee more ardently; Thou hast given to me the capacity of feeling, an easy understanding, a tenacious memory, a discriminating tongue, a pleasant address, a persuasive doctrine, efficiency in deed, grace in conversation, advancement in studies, completion in things begun, consolation in adversity, caution in prosperity, and whithersoever I turn Thy grace and Thy mercy go before me. And often when I seemed to myself to be consumed Thou hast liberated me suddenly. When I was wandering Thou didst bring me back, when I was ignorant Thou didst teach me, when I sinned Thou didst correct me, when I was sad Thou didst console me, when I despaired Thou didst comfort me, when I fell Thou didst raise me up, when I stood Thou didst hold me, when I went Thou didst lead me, when I came Thou didst receive me. All these things Thou hast done to me, O my God, and many others it will always be sweet to me to think of, always to speak of, always to give thanks, that I may praise Thee and love Thee for all Thy benefits, O Lord my God. Behold! you have, O my soul, your pledge and in your betrothal you know your Spouse. Reserve yourself wholly for Him, keep yourself uncontaminated. If you were formerly an unfaithful spouse, now you are made a virgin, since His love is accustomed to give back integrity to the corrupt and to preserve chastity in the pure. But consider always how much mercy He has shown you, examine in this how much you are loved by Him, because you know His gifts have never failed you.

Soul: I confess, moreover, that love deserves to be called special, which while it diffuses itself among many, embraces nevertheless so specially individuals. Truly a beautiful and wonderful benefit

which is common to all and special to individuals, governing all, satisfying individuals, present everywhere, taking care of all and nevertheless providing for each one as for all. Thus certainly it seems to me when I behold His mercies roundabout me, that (if it is right to say so) in a certain way God does nothing else but provide salvation for me, and so I see Him wholly occupied in taking care of me, as if He willed to forget all and to work wholly for me. He shows Himself always present, He is always ready to offer Himself: wheresoever I shall turn myself He will not desert me, and wheresoever I may be He will not go away, whatsoever I shall do He assists equally: and because at length He is the perpetual inspector of all my actions and my thoughts, how much belongs to His goodness. He is present as an individual coöperator, which is shown patently by the effect of His works. From which it follows it is right that His face is invisible to us, yet His Presence can never be avoided. But I, I confess, considering this more diligently in fear and trembling equally, am terribly confused, because I behold Him whom I so vehemently desire to please, everywhere present to me and seeing all my secret thoughts. O, how many things there are in me for which I blush before His eyes and for which I fear more to displease Him than I trust to be able to please Him for those things (if there are any) which are to be praised in me. O, if I might be able to be hidden for a little while from His eyes, until I might blot out these spots and thus at last might appear before His eyes immaculate without spot. For in what way shall I be able to please Him in this deformity, in which I also am exceedingly displeasing to myself?

O old sins, O foul and disgraceful stains, how long do you adhere to me? Go away and never more presume to offend the eyes of my Beloved. Be unwilling to deceive yourselves: by His help you shall not always remain with me, although you were not able to exterminate with me still hesitating. I swore by you that neither will I keep or love you any more, therefore I hate you altogether, and at last I abominate your disgracefulness. And now henceforth, even if I am not able to be seen by my Spouse, I am nevertheless unwilling to be corrupted by you. How much more now because I am in His Presence, and because I grieve more for having offended Him than for my former disgrace. Go away, then. In vain do you adhere any more to me, because remaining always with me you are not of me.

I judge you to be foreign to my nature, and I wish henceforth to have no communication with you. I have another model to whom I desire to be conformed, and I look back continually to

that other, and as much as I am able. I endeavor always more and more to copy that. From whom I learned this also that I ought to exterminate you, and now I know how I shall do it.

Man: A wonderful thing has happened to us, which perhaps you will not acknowledge, because now you understand what I shall be willing to say. For I consider how you have been led into the midst of many things which in the beginning of our discourse seemed to be contrary to love, and that the power of love has never been weakened by them, but more fully proved. You did say that individual love and general love were not able to be in each and all, but from that it has been wonderfully proved to be common and individual. You did say again that you were not perfectly loved because you heard yourself to be called by Him to the preparation, and yet you did not seem to be taken to the nuptial chamber, but nevertheless, again so great is the love shown towards you as your perfection is greater, which was waited for in His patience. You did, in fine, begin very much to doubt whether you could not be loved by Him in this your deformity, although you suffered unwillingly. You could not be loved by Him; but when you have doubted this, you did not then remember that formerly, when you were wholly foul, you were loved nevertheless. If therefore He then deigned to love you, when you were wholly foul and having as yet no beauty, how much more will He love you when you begin to be adorned and to put off your former disgrace.

For this also belongs to the perfection of His love, that He deigns to love you in your imperfection. And although He may see certain things in you which do not please Him, nevertheless He loves this very thing, viz., that you also begin to hate those things in you which do not please Him. For He does not look so much at the state of the intention, not at what may be, but at what you wish to be. He waits if nevertheless you will strive earnestly as much as you can, that what you have not yet begun to be you may deserve to be.

Soul: I pray that you will receive this last question of mine kindly. What is that sweetness which in remembering Him is sometimes accustomed to touch me and to affect me so vehemently and so gently that now I can begin in a certain way to be lifted up and drawn away in a manner entirely from myself? For suddenly I am renewed and wholly changed, and it begins to be well with me, beyond anything which I can find sufficient to say. The conscience is exhilarated, all the misery of my former sorrows is forgotten, the intellect is enlightened, the heart is illuminated, the desires are made agreeable, and now I see myself to be else-

where (I don't know where), and I hold something interiorly with the embraces of love (and I don't know what it is), and nevertheless I struggle hard always to keep it and to rest in it and never to lose it. In a certain way the mind is struggling pleasantly, lest it should recede from that which it desires always to embrace, and as if it could find the end of all desires in Him, it exults exceedingly and ineffably, seeing nothing more, desiring nothing more, wishing always to be thus: Is not this my Beloved? I pray you tell me that I may know whether it is He, that if once again He should come to me I may beseech Him never to go away, but that He may always remain.

Translated from the Latin by DARLEY DALE.

Stroud, England.

CARDINAL NEWMAN'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE.

PART II.

WE have shown in a former article that Newman's theory of knowledge is substantially the same as that of Aristotle and Aquinas. But if he had merely reiterated that system, we could hardly claim for him any philosophical originality, any of that prismatic power of thought which analyzes ideas into their vari-colored aspects or synthesizes many aspects into the white unity of a single idea. Newman was not content with mere iteration. He subjected the realistic theory of knowledge to that process of of development which he has so well outlined in his "Essay on Development," amplifying and illustrating with wonderful richness of thought and wealth of instances those sections of epistemology which deal with assent, with pragmatism, with implicit reasoning and with the relativity of knowledge. Newman introduced the original division of assents into "notional" and "real." The scholastics had developed this part of criteriology and had treated of the same matters under other names than "notional" and "real." Newman approached the subject from a different angle and added an original mode of development. A proper preliminary to this important subject is an understanding of Newman's definitions. "Notional" assent is "that assent which we give to propositions in which one or both of the terms are common nouns, as standing for what is abstract, general and non-existing, such as 'man is an animal,' 'some men are learned,' 'an apostle is the creation of Christianity,' 'a line is length without breadth,' 'to err is human; to forgive, divine'" ("Gram." p. 7).

"Real" assent is the assent we give to "propositions which are composed of singular nouns, and of which the terms stand for things external to us, unit and individual, as 'Philip was the father of Alexander,' 'the earth goes round the sun,' 'the apostles first preached to the Jews'" ("Gram." p. 8). After analyzing all assents into notional and real, Newman further divides notional assents into five varieties, "profession," "credence," "opinion," "presumption" and "speculation." It is very easy to see a resemblance to Bacon's famous idols in this analysis of notional assent. Profession is an assent so feeble and superficial as to be little more than an assertion. "Such are the assents made upon habit and without reflection; as when a man calls himself a Tory or Liberal, as having been brought up as such; or again, when he adopts as a matter of course the literary or other fashions of the day, admiring the poems, or the novels, or the music, or the personages, or the costumes, or the

wines, or the manners which happen to be popular or are patronized in the higher circles" ("Gram.," p. 40).

In the following passage Newman shows how uncritically people adopt the assents which he calls professions. "But what I speak of here is professing to understand without understanding. It is thus that political and religious watchwords are created: first, one man of name and then another adopts them till their use becomes popular, and then every one professes them because every one else does. Such words are 'liberality,' 'progress, 'light,' 'civilization,' such are 'justification by faith only,' 'vital religion,' 'private judgment,' 'rationalism,' 'Gallicanism,' 'Jesuitism,' 'Ultramontanism,' all of which, in the mouths of conscientious thinkers, have a definite meaning, but are used by the multitude as war-cries, nicknames and shibboleths, with scarcely enough of the scantiest grammatical apprehension of them to allow of their being considered really more than assertions" ("Gram.," pp. 41-42).

"Credence," the second kind of notional assent described by Newman, is "the sort of assent which we give to those opinions and professed facts which are ever presenting themselves to us without any effort of ours, and which we commonly take for granted, thereby obtaining a broad foundation of thought for ourselves and others. It is by such ungrudging, prompt assents to what is offered to us so lavishly that we become possessed of the principles, doctrines, sentiments, facts which constitute useful and especially liberal knowledge. These various teachings, shallow though they be, are of a breadth which secures against those lacunae of knowledge which are apt to befall the professed student and keep us up to the mark in literature, in the arts, in history and in public matters" ("Gram.," pp.50-52). The third kind of notional assent is "opinion," which is defined as "an assent to a proposition, not as true, but as probably true, that is, to the probability of that which the proposition enunciates" ("Gram.," p. 55).

"Presumption," the fourth species of notional assent, is "An assent to first principles, and by first principles I mean the propositions with which we start reasoning on any subject-matter. They are all of them notions, not images, because they express what is abstract, not what is individual and from direct experience" ("Gram.," p. 57). We disagree with Newman when, in giving an example of a presumption, he denies that the trustworthiness of our powers of reasoning is a first principle, because, as he says, "We are what we are and we use, not trust our faculties. To debate about trusting in a case like this is parallel to the confusion implied in wishing we had had a choice if we would be created or no. We are as little able to accept or reject our mental constitution as our

being" ("Gram.," pp. 58-59). However, Newman says in another place that the existence of an external world is a first principle. But this can be known only by assuming and presupposing that our faculties are trustworthy by making their trustworthiness a first principle, as the scholastics do. Other examples of presumptions are the first principles expressed in such propositions as "There is a right and a wrong," a "true and a false," a "just and an unjust," a "beautiful and a deformed." These first principles Newman holds are abstractions to which we give a notional assent in consequence of our particular experiences of qualities in the concrete to which we give a real assent. The belief in causation also Newman considers a first principle. But he differs from the scholastics in proving his belief by merely appealing to the experience we have of our will as a cause producing changes in ourselves and in the external world. "We have no experience of any cause but will" ("Gram.," p. 69). If he means direct experience, he is partly correct, but he should have qualified his statement accordingly. We have experience of other causes than will, because we can infer causal relations directly from immediately experienced sense-phenomena. "Speculation" is the last kind of notional assent: "Its proper meaning is mental sight, it includes the assent to all reasoning and its conclusions, to all general propositions, to all rules of conduct, to all proverbs, aphorisms, sayings and reflections on men and society" ("Gram.," p. 70). These various divisions of notional assent are justifiable, with the exception of the division called "credence," which, as being an assent to "professed facts," would seem to belong more properly to real assent.

The most valuable part of Newman's teaching on notional and real assent is what follows from the definitions we have given of them. Since real assent is given to real propositions, it has the power of the concrete on the affections and passions; it tends to initiate action, to have what we may call a pragmatic value and thus it surpasses notional assent. To distinguish between notional and real as between speculative and practical is really the same as distinguishing truths from their effects, or vague mental assertion of a truth and its realization in the concrete. One example of the difference between notional and real in the sense we have explained will suffice: "In like manner, when Mr. Wilberforce, after succeeding in the slave question, urged the Duke of Wellington to use his great influence in discountenancing dueling, he could only get from him the answer, 'A relic of barbarism, Mr. Wilberforce,' as if he accepted a notion without realizing a fact: at length, the growing intelligence of the community and the shock inflicted upon it by the tragical circumstances of a particular duel were fatal to that barbarism. The governing classes were roused from their dreamy

acquiescence in an abstract truth and recognized the duty of giving it practical expression" ("Gram.," pp. 77-78).

Unlike the pragmatists, whom he anticipated by his distinction between the speculative and the pragmatic, Newman does not say a thing is not true *until* it has practical success. The truths are always truths and are not changed by being realized in action, but are the causes of changes in the world outside them. Newman, then, forecast one aspect of the philosophy of pragmatism by pointing out the difference between notional and real assents or between truth and its practical bearing on conduct and thus supplied weapons in advance against this latest partial philosophy. For the partial truth in pragmatism is that ideas of a certain kind initiate action which was expressed in all its completeness by the scholastics of the thirteenth century in their teaching on "ideae exemplares." Pragmatism tried to exalt this undeniable partial truth into a whole truth and ended by denying the validity and function of abstract truths. Newman by insisting on and illustrating the practical effects of ideas, without denying speculative truths, enriched by a new development of thought, that *philosophia perennis*, which has grown gradually from Aristotle to the Neo-Scholasticism of to-day and fulfilled in his philosophy the motto of Leo XIII., "Vetera novis augere." That Newman did not fall into the errors of the one-sided theory of knowledge of pragmatism is proved by the mere fact of his distinction between notional and real assent. For if a pragmatist were to use Newman's terminology he would have to say: "Real assent is the only assent; notional assent either does not exist, or if it does, it has no truth value." But a most decisive proof of Newman's freedom from the errors of pragmatism is the fact that William James in his first draft of pragmatism, which occurs in the chapter on "Philosophy" in "Varieties of Religious Experience," singles out Newman as a typical opponenet of pragmatic theodicy. In conclusion we may quote two Catholic philosophers. Wilfrid Ward says: "In comparing John Henry Newman's teaching with William James' pragmatism, then, we have this difference. Professor James rejects, as having no real significance, what does not for us satisfy the pragmatic test. Newman also dwells on what does satisfy it as *most* practical for us. So far they are agreed. But Newman holds, and Mr. James seems to deny, that truths above the full comprehension of man may well have a practical significance for us which we do not adequately understand. Newman fully appreciates the value of the pragmatic test, and yet he regards it as intellectual impertinence to measure the reality or its significance by our direct and complete knowledge" ("Last Lectures," p. 92).

Leslie J. Walker, S. J., has this to say of Newman and pragmatism: "There is scarcely a single doctrine now upheld by the

pragmatists which is not to be found verbally stated in the "Grammar of Assent;" yet Newman was not a pragmatist. His standpoint is psychological and human; nay, more, he acknowledges the personal element in truth; yet his standpoint is perfectly compatible with realism, because the results of his psychological analyses are not exaggerated. The real nature of truth is not confused with its pragmatic value. Product is not confused with process, content with intent, the various processes and methods by means of which truth is attained with the real objective validity of truth itself" ("Theories of Knowledge," p. 648).

The contrast between notional and real, abstract and concrete, speculative and pragmatic, theory and fact, universal and individual, head and heart, system and personality, logic and life, with an insistence on the real in all its manifold aspects, permeates Newman's philosophy. Aristotle had noticed in his treatise on the soul that images move to action. And Newman in many of his most characteristic writings is continually illustrating his constant conviction that real assents and the vivid images in which they are embodied are operative and productive of action, while notional assents are not so. Such writings are "Personal Influence, the Means of Propagating Truth," "Implicit and Explicit Reason," "Abelard," "University Preaching," "Essay on Literature," "Discipline and Influence," "Tamworth Reading Room," "Apologia" and portions of "Callista" and "Loss and Gain." Here is a specimen passage enforcing real assent: "The heart is commonly reached not through the reason, but through the imagination, by means of direct impressions, by the testimony of facts and events, by history, by description. Persons influence us, voices melt us, looks subdue us, deeds inflame us. Many a man will live and die upon a dogma; no man will be a martyr for a conclusion" ("Tamworth Reading Room," p. 34).

And the reason for this adhesion to the real is found in a sentence characterizing Hurrel Froude, but which Newman might have written of himself. "He had a keen insight into abstract truth; but he was an Englishman to the backbone in his severe adherence to the real and the concrete" ("Apol.," p. 86). Edmund Burke, too, England's greatest political philosopher, is accurately epitomized in that sentence and at least in his passion for reality as opposed to undue theorizing, is in full agreement with Newman. Another point of coincidence between these two thinkers and Vladimir Soloviev, the great Catholic philosopher of Russia, is their fondness for historical proof, their love of summarizing by an induction and generalization a series of particular instances from history. In his insistence on the concrete Newman proved his close touch with the thought of his time. For, as Lewis Gates says in his preface to

"Selections to Newman:" "Perhaps the most general formula for the work of English literature during the first quarter of the nineteenth century is the rediscovery and vindication of the *concrete.*"

But Newman's fruitful and suggestive analysis of assent is not his only, nor indeed his most characteristic development of criteriology. His ideas on implicit and explicit reason and the Illative sense are his most distinctive doctrines. That his findings in these subjects are the carefully matured results of a lifetime of thought is evident from the fact that, although we can find the theory already partially developed in the sermon on "Implicit and Explicit Reason," as early as 1840, still we do not see it completed in detail until 1870, in the "Grammar of Assent." During all the intervening years, as we learn from his letters, he thought frequently and earnestly on the same subject. The great problem that set him thinking on these lines was the problem of the reasonableness of faith or the relations between faith and reason. How we arrive at certitude in this as in other concrete matters where the evidence is not coercive, but still sufficient for reflex certitude, if the investigator is cautious, careful and prudent, this was the great enigma which he solved in an original fashion. The inference employed in these concrete matters is generally not explicitly syllogistic, and is engaged not in deducing conclusions from general propositions, but in forming a critical estimate of what is involved in certain concrete facts. Some have maintained that only explicit syllogistic procedure has a right to be called inference, a view which is not in concord with St. Thomas, who recognized implicit syllogistic inference.[1] In the passage referred to, St. Thomas explains that "Cogitare tripliciter sumi potest," and in the last sentence of the body of the article he says: "Sed quia talis matus potest esse vel animi deliberantis circa intentiones universales, quod pertinet ad intellectivam partem, vel circa intentiones particulares, quod pertinet ad partem sensitivam, ideo cogitare secundo modo sumitur pro actu intellectus deliberantis; tertio modo pro actu virtutis cogitativae." To reason "circa intentiones particulares" is to reason on concrete data or to employ Newman's "implicit reason." St. Thomas, then, showed that he knew of such a thing as implicit inference, but he did not develop the subject. Newman developed the realistic theory of knowledge by illustrating with many examples what had been merely recognized by the prince of mediæval philosophers.

The process by which we arrive at certitude in concrete matters is not formal syllogistic argumentation, but implicit, recondite and often unanalyzed arguments. "Such, too, is the intellectual view we take of the momenta of a proof for a concrete truth; we grasp the full tale of premises and the conclusion per modum unius, by a

[1] Secunda Secundae, corpus Art. I., Quaestio II.

sort of instinctive perception of the legitimate conclusion in and through the premises, not by a formal juxtaposition of propositions" ("Gram.," p. 289). As this word "instinctive," which often occurs in Newman's philosophy, together with his insistence on implicit logic, has caused some to accuse him of undue subjectivism, it is well to cite two great scholastics who use language somewhat similar to Newman's. Kleutgen, one of the greatest neo-scholastics, author of the "Philosophie der Vorzeit," says: "Why should not science take as the object of its researches that knowledge of God which we *instinctively* possess?" And again, "How many truths there are concerning duty, concerning nature and art, which a man of good judgment knows with perfect accuracy without being distinctly cognizant how he passes in successive judgments from one truth to another." De Lugo, another orthodox scholastic, says of implicit reasoning: "Virtus intellectus et voluntatis, ut uno actu brevissimo et subtilissimo attingant compendiose totam illam seriem motivorum." Finally, what is Newman's own definition of this term "instinct?" "By instinct I mean the realization of a *particular*, by intuition of a *general* fact—in both cases without assignable or recognizable media of realization."[2]

In all creative intellectual work it is the inward faculty of reason energizing by implicit processes that produces the original and inimitable results. The eloquent passage following describes these implicit processes: "The mind ranges to and fro, and spreads out, and advances forward with a quickness which has become a proverb, and a subtlety and versatility which baffle investigation. It passes on from point to point, gaining one by some indication, another on a probability; then availing itself of an association; then falling back on some received law; next seizing on testimony; then committing itself to some popular impression or some inward instinct or some obscure memory, and thus it makes progress not unlike a clamberer on a steep cliff, who, by quick eye, prompt hand and firm foot, ascends how he knows not himself by personal endowments and practice rather than by rule, leaving no track behind him and unable to teach another. It is not too much to say that the stepping by which great geniuses scale the mountains of truth is as unsafe and precarious to men in general as the ascent of a skilful mountaineer up a literal crag. It is a way which they alone can take, and its justification lies in their success" ("Oxford Univ. Sermons," pp. 256-257).

Logic and explicit reasoning are chiefly occupied in constructing a defense for the truths gained by implicit reasoning. "Lastly, since a test is in its very nature of a negative character, and since argu-

[2] From a letter to Dr. Meynell, August 17, 1869.

mentative forms are mainly a test of reasoning, so far they will be but critical, not creative. They will be useful in raising objections and in ministering to skepticism; they will pull down and will not be able to build up" ("Oxford Univ. Sermons," p. 276). This last member of the sentence is certainly an undue depreciation of argumentative forms. One of the most splendid exhibitions of the constructive use of argumentative forms is the building up during the last half century of the entire system of neo-scholastic epistemology. We can agree with Newman, however, when he says: "Logic is the organization of thought; and, as being such, is a security for the faithfulness of intellectual developments, and the necessity of using it is undeniable as far as this, that its rules must not be transgressed" ("Devel.," p. 189). What logic cannot do in concrete matters is accomplished by an inward faculty called the Illative sense. Newman thus defines it: "It is the mind that reasons and that controls its own reasonings, not any technical apparatus of words and propositions. This power of judging and concluding when in its perfection I call the Illative sense, and I shall best illustrate it by referring to parallel faculties, which we commonly recognize without difficulty" ("Gram.," p. 353). The parallel faculties to which he refers are the Aristotelian *phronesis* in conduct and taste in the fine arts. "This intimate understanding of an assemblage of intellectual data, of our position of mind towards particular questions, and of the relations of our position of mind towards other conceivable standpoints is the first and last of the faculty which I shall call the Ratiocinative or Illative sense, being parallel to *phronesis* in conduct, and to taste in the fine arts" ("Gram.," pp. 347-348).

It is unimportant whether we call the critical judgment of the mind in concrete matters the Illative sense or the Ratiocinative or Instinctive reasoning. What is important is Newman's account of implicit reasoning. To him is due the credit of developing to its fullest extent the theory of non-syllogistic reasoning. He has flooded with light the hitherto dark region of these phenomena of the mind seeking certitude in concrete matters, phenomena which occupy the borderland between logic and psychology.

Another development of the realistic theory of knowledge we find in Newman's "Essay on Development." There he shows us in what sense we can speak of the "relativity" of knowledge and thus allows scholasticism to appropriate the grain of truth latent in modern relativistic theories of knowledge. To indicate Newman's contribution to this aspect of criteriology I can do no better than to quote Father Coffey's masterly "Epistemology." He says: "Human knowledge is obviously capable of increase, growth, development, both in depth and in extent, intensively and extensively. This is

true both of the individual and of the race. The universe is constantly yielding up new objects of knowledge to human investigation. Moreover, new implications of principles or truths already known are being incessantly brought to light, thus increasing the depth or intensity of our knowledge of such principles. To this process religious knowledge is no exception. The Catholic Church recognizes a doctrinal development of Christian dogma in this sense of a growth of human insight into the Christian deposit of divinely revealed truth. It is the function of Catholic supernatural theology to note and to promote this fuller understanding of the Christian revelation; and nowhere has the character of this development been more clearly expounded than in the well-known work of Cardinal Newman. But such growth or development of knowledge, whether secular or religious, does not make knowledge 'relative' or 'changeable' in the sense that what is at any time truth can ever become false or erroneous" ("Epistemology," Vol. II., p. 235).

Newman's theory of knowledge, then, is essentially the same as the moderate realism of scholasticism. But it is emphatically more than a restatement of the thirteenth century state of that system, being conspicuous for at least three legitimate "developments" in Newman's sense of the term, notional and real assent, with its bearing on pragmatsim, implicit reasoning and the concept of development of knowledge. A philosopher of realism, the Cardinal, while clinging tenaciously to the real and the knowable, penetrated at the same time as far as any modern philosopher into the shadowy realms of the subjective. But, unlike Kant and his satellites, Newman never dreamt of saying that all the factors in knowing are subjective and that we can know only phenomena, merely because his studies had convinced him that the same objective truth was differently received by different minds. On the contrary, he ascribes this various reception of the same objective truth to various refracting media in the minds of the recipients, such as wrong assumptions, prejudices and presumptions which distort the image of the truth.

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ST. BONIFACE AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE ANTIPODES.

PROTESTANT authors accuse St. Boniface of having declared heretical the belief in the existence of *antipodes*, that is men who live on the other side of the globe and have their feet turned "against" ours. He discovered, they say, that Virgilius, an Irishman, had taught this doctrine. "Horrified at such cosmological views," St. Boniface reported Virgil to Pope Zachary. "The Pope, however, had more sympathy for Virgil's scientific proclivities than the narrow-minded Boniface, and in a way not known to us adjusted the matter."[1] Catholic authors, too, here and there speak in the same strain, or at least express themselves very unguardedly. Some Protestants even distort the incident into an accusation against the Holy See and charge Pope Zachary with opposition to the progress of science. It will therefore be worth our while to follow in this matter the admonition which Leo XIII. gives in his Letter on Historical Studies: "Enitendum magnopere, ut omnia ementita et falsa adeundis rerum fontibus refutentur." Serious endeavors should be made to refute all errors and falsehoods by going directly to the sources.

I. THE SOURCES OF THE STORY.

Now, the "Rerum Fontes," the historical sources, in our case, are confined to one single passage of about a hundred and fifty words in a letter written by Pope St. Zachary to St. Boniface in A. D. 748. It runs as follows:

"Nam et hoc intimatum est a tua fraterna Sanctitate, quod Virgilius ille—nescimus si dicatur presbyter—malignatur adversum te, pro eo quod confundebatur a te erroneum se esse a Catholica doctrina: immissiones faciens Otiloni, Duci Bajoariorum, ut odium inter te et illum seminaret, ajens quod et a nobis esset absolutus, unius ex quattuor illis episcopis quos tua illic ordinavit Fraternitas dioecesim obtinere. Quod nequaquam verum est, quia mentita est iniquitas sibi. De peversa autem et iniqua doctrina quam contra Deum et animam suam locutus est: si clarificatum fuerit ita eum confiteri, *quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sint,* hunc accito concilio ab ecclesia pelle sacerdotali honore privatum. Attamen et nos scribentes praedicto duci evocatorias de praemonstrato Virgilio mittimus litteras, ut nobis praesentatus et subtili indaga-

[1] H. Zimmer, "Die Romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen mit Einschluss des Keltischen," p. 7.

tione requisitus, si erroneus fuerit inventus, canonicis sanctionibus condemnetur. Qui enim seminant dolores, ipsi metunt eos."[2]

"Thy brotherly Holiness has also communicated to us that that Virgilius—whether he is said to be a priest we know not—is maligning thee, because thou hast shown him to be guilty of an error against the Catholic faith; that he talks disparagingly about thee to Otilo, the Duke of the Bavarians, to cause enmity between thee and him in order to obtain the diocese of a deceased Bishop, one of the four whom thy fraternity established in that region (Bavaria), maintaining that he had been absolved by ourselves. This is by no means true, because iniquity has lied to itself. Concerning the perverse and iniquitous doctrine, however, which he has uttered against God and his own soul: if he is found to hold that there is below the earth another world and other men, call a council, deprive him of his priesthood (that is, if he is a priest) and expel him from the Church. However, we ourselves are writing to the aforesaid Duke a summons concerning the above-mentioned Virgilius, that he be presented to us, in order that, if after a close examination he appears to be in error, he be condemned according to the canons of the Church. For those who sow sorrows shall themselves reap them."

This is all we have of historical sources referring directly to this controversy. Says Rohrbacher in his "Histoire Universelle de L'Eglise Catholique," Vol. V., p. 590: "Nous ne connaissons aucun autre monument ancien, dans lequel is en soit parlé, aucun auteur du temps, qui en ait fait mention." "We do not know of any other ancient document which speaks of it, of no author of the time who makes mention of it." We may, therefore, make no statement concerning the point in question which is not warranted by those one hundred and fifty words. There is, however, genuine evidence from other sources which will enlighten us as to the nature of the circumstances under which the affair took place.

It will be useful for our purpose to reproduce the next passage of the Pope's letter also. The Sovereign Pontiff continues:

"Pro Sidonio autem supra dicto, et Virgilio, presbyteris, quod scripsit Sanctitas tua agnovimus. Illis quidem, ut condecebat, comminando scripsimus; tuae autem Fraternitati plus credulitatis quam illis admittetur. Si autem placuerit Deo, Vita comite, Sedi Apostolicae eos, missis Apostolicis litteris, ut praelatum est, evocabimus. Docuisti enim eos et non susceperunt; Factum est illis sicut scriptum est (follows a long quotation from Scripture, Eccl.

[2] Hartzheim, "Concilia Germaniae, Tomus I., p. 86. The letter is found in other collections also and is quoted in many books.

xx., 7, 18, and xvi., 23). Non ergo ad iracundiam provocetur cor tuum, Frater, sed in patientia tua, ubi tales repereris, admone, obsecra, increpa, ut convertantur ab errore ad viam veritatis. Et si conversi fuerint, salvasti animas eorum; si vero in duritia permanserint, mercedem ministerii tuis non perdes. Illos autem juxta Apostoli vocem devita."

"And concerning the priests Sidonius, above mentioned, and Virgilius, we have taken notice of what thy Holiness writes about them. We have written to them a threatening letter, as the occasion required, but more credence will be given to thy fraternity than to thm. If it pleases God and we live long enough, we shall summon them by letter to the Holy See. For thou hast instructed them, and they have not accepted thy words. It happened to them as it is written. (Biblical quotation.) Therefore, brother, let not thy heart be provoked to anger, but where thou findest such persons, admonish, beseech and chide them that they may turn themselves from error to the way of truth. If they become converted, thou hast saved their souls; if they remain hardened, thou wilt not lose the reward for thy exertions. But avoid them according to the word of the Apostle."

II. SEVERAL VIRGILS.

No one who reads these two passages with even superficial attention will fail to observe that they differ entirely in tone. While severity and indignation, nay, exasperation, speak from the lines of the first, there is a considerable amount of mildness, forbearance and fatherly care throughout the second. The Virgilius spoken of in the first is actually summoned to Rome, after he will have been judged in a local council. St. Boniface is urged to relentlessness concerning him, while he is warned to be kind to the second Virgil. Moreover, it is not known to the Pope whether the first Virgil is a priest at all. The second is expressly called a priest. St. Boniface has serious personal grievances against the first, none against the second. The first evidently stands alone, has no accomplices, no fellow-offenders. The second's name is coupled with that of Sidonius. Are we wrong, therefore, if we conclude that *there must have been two individuals of the name of Virgilius,* both indeed complained of by St. Boniface, but not charged with the same transgression? Let this be the first result of our investigation of the sources.

This second Virgil and his companion Sidonius had complained of St. Boniface to Rome for ordering to rebaptize some persons, and the Pope had at first believed them and sent a letter of kind admoni-

tion to his legate.[3] But meanwhile Boniface had presented his own side of the question. The Papal letter from which our quotations are taken is almost entirely devoted to an exposition of the doctrine concerning baptism and the errors reported about St. Boniface. Hence the phrase, "pro Sidonio supra dicto," "concerning Sidonius above mentioned," though Sidonius' name has not occurred in the letter so far. To avoid misunderstanding, we shall call the Virgilius spoken of by Pope Zachary in the first passage *the Schemer*—for reasons which will appear later on—and the second Virgilius, Sidonius' companion, *the Baptizer*. We shall find out that neither of them is identical with Virgilius *the Saint*.

Let us now try to make the acquaintance of Virgilius the Schemer. But it will be well first to obtain a clearer idea of the man who had reported him to the Holy See.

III. ST. BONIFACE.

We must not imagine that St. Boniface went on his ministry with a scanty theological preparation. When, in 719, he set out for his missionary labors, he was a man of about forty years, renowned for his learning among his brethren in religion and highly esteemed by the Bishops and kings of his native land. He was a contemporary of St. Bede the Venerable, and he moved in circles which were given to the pursuits of all kinds of learning, and kept in touch with the literary world of Ireland. As teacher of monastic schools he enjoyed a wide reputation. Though not a Bishop then, he took part in national councils and was employed on important embassies. Just before he left for the continent, the monks of the monastery wanted to make him their abbot. During all his life books were his steady companions. Several prolonged stays at home brought him into contact with men prominent for learning and experience. At the time of which we speak he was not merely a zealous missionary working in some isolated spot. He had become Bishop and Archbishop, and was now the Pope's representative for the entire Frankish kingdom, which extended from Bohemia to the Pyrenees. The secular rulers highly appreciated his activity and gave him their heartiest support. He had presided in a number of provincial and national councils, and had vigorously enforced the laws of the Church. Repeatedly the Popes had commended him for the correctness of his theological views. Their esteem had almost grown into veneration for the gray-haired man, who had literally spent himself in the propagation of God's kingdom and in promoting the recognition of St. Peter's primacy.

[3] See "American Catholic Quarterly Review," 1917, pp. 270-275: "The Controversy Concerning Baptism Under St. Boniface."

And now we come to a point which so far seems to have been overlooked by the greater part of the writers who expressed themselves on this subject. *Did St. Boniface know that the earth is a globe? Did he believe in the existence or at least the possibility of antipodes?* There is every reason to answer both these questions in the affirmative.

Hardly any book outside of the Bible was as widely read during the time from the fifth to the ninth century (and maybe longer) than the "City of God," by St. Augustine. Now the great Bishop of Hippo supposes it to be known that the earth has the shape of a sphere. He himself does not seem to be much interested in the matter, though he grants that there are good reasons for it. Whether or not the other side of the globe, "where the sun rises when it sets for us," is inhabited, this question, he says, must be decided by positive evidence. Until such evidence is forthcoming, he suspends his judgment. His principal difficulty lies in the supposition, general at his time, that the ocean which surrounds our part of the globe is simply impassable for any ship. How then, he asks, should men have been able to get there? And yet they must have come from here, because they must be children of Adam, just as we. He concludes that in his discussion of the various races of the world he can afford to omit the fabulous antipodes.[4] He here applies the same principle which had guided him when speaking of "monstra," that is men with anomalously shaped bodies. He says: "Either the reports about such races are false; or if these beings are men they descend from Adam; or they are no men." As long, therefore, as the "City of God" remained in the hands of thinking men, the belief in the rotundity of the earth could not perish or be looked upon as half heretical. The question about antipodes, too, was viewed in the right light, as one to be settled by natural discovery, not touching or endangering any article of faith, provided the unity of the human race was safeguarded.[5]

To come to the times of St. Boniface, there was his contemporary and fellow-religious, St. Bede the Venerable, who all his life had been "praying and studying and teaching and writing." He had died in 735. Though it is not probable that the two saintly Anglo-Saxons ever met, St. Boniface highly esteemed the books of the great Northumbrian monk, and even while a missionary in Germany repeatedly asked his friends to send him some of Bede's writings. He certainly had perused them during his activity as teacher in England. Now the rotundity of the earth is explicitly stated in

[4] On this point see the article, "Did the Older Ecclesiastical Writers Deny the Sphericity of the Earth?" in "American Catholic Quarterly Review," 1918, pp. 344ff.

Bede's work, "De Rerum Natura," even more explicitly and more definitely than in the "City of God." Concerning Antipodes, his views, no doubt, were similar to those of St. Augustine, and probably more definite. In fact, once a person believes in the sphericity of the earth, it is very natural for him to ask whether the other side of the globe is also the dwelling-place of men. And if there are men there, St. Bede could not but hold like St. Augustine, they must be descendants of Adam.

Considering these facts, it would be very rash to suppose that St. Boniface had never heard of this theory. And whether he shared the conviction or not, he certainly knew that it was held by pious and learned men and could not be in any way contrary to faith and morals. Whether he himself believed in it or not, he knew that a person who taught it could not therefore be suspected of heresy or be an object of grave concern to ecclesiastical authorities.

All these facts throw light on the position and intellectual endowments of St. Boniface. He knew what he was reporting to Rome. Men with a past and such an official capacity must not be supposed to misrepresent important matters. In all kinds of public business, civil as well as ecclesiastical, the reports of officials are considered reliable, especially when the person making the report is so competent a judge as St. Boniface was in his matter. Nor are such men in the habit of proceeding hastily. Neither do they forget the obligation imposed by the Eighth Commandment, not to bear false witness against their neighbor.

Even if most of all of these circumstances concerning St. Boniface's official and private character were unknown, nobody would have the right to question the correctness of his report, unless he were able to produce positive counter-proofs.

IV. VIRGIL THE SCHEMER AND HIS ERROR.

Let us now return to our first and chief passage in Pope Zachary's letter. Unfortunately the communication by which St. Boniface reported the matter to Rome is lost. It no doubt contained many terms which would aid us greatly in understanding the situation. However, the Pope's answer is clear and definite enough to lead us to a well-founded conclusion.

It is evident that the Virgil spoken of in these one hundred and fifty words had had a dogmatic encounter with Boniface, in which

[5] James H. Robinson, in his "Readings in European History," says in vol. I., p. 441, note: "Educated persons realized all through the Middle Ages that the earth was a sphere." It is safe to say that St. Boniface belonged to the class of "educated persons." More quotations on this subject will be found in Horace K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages," vol. I., part II., p. 248, note.

he got the worst of it. The Pope's words seem to indicate that the two met personally, most naturally at the court of Duke Otilo. Virgilius had committed some crime, for which he lay under an ecclesiastical censure, and he now maintained to have been absolved by the Sovereign Pontiff over the head of St. Boniface.[6] By whom the censure was inflicted and in what it consisted we have no means of finding out.

Some ten years before, in 739, St. Boniface, at the urgent request of Duke Otilo and with the joyful approval of the Pope, had undertaken to reorganize the Church in the dukedom of Bavaria. The country was to have four Bishoprics, Salzburg, Ratisbon, Freising and Passau. About 745 two of them fell vacant, Passau by the death of Bishop Vivilo and Salzburg by that of Bishop John.[7] Virgilius now wanted one of these sees, we do not know which. To effect this end he endeavored to prepossess Otilo against the Papal Legate, hitherto the duke's friend. St. Boniface had shown him to be a heretic, and is now ordered by the Pope to summon a provincial council for an official investigation of the errors held by Virgilius, and if he finds him guilty (and unwilling to retract), to pronounce the severest penalties against him. To prevent an undue interference on the part of Otilo the Pope writes immediately to the duke.

Otilo is to send the culprit to Rome to receive there the final verdict of his condemnation. It is not quite clear what relation this Roman action is to have towards the canonical process which St. Boniface is enjoined to institute against Virgilius. The Pope evidently wants to back his legate against a possible opposition (not necessarily hostile) of the duke. We may presume that the sentence of the provincial council was to stand until Rome had spoken on the matter. The contemporaries, most probably, were in a better position to understand what Pope St. Zachary desired than we after a lapse of 1,200 years. But however this may be, it has nothing to do with the principal question which we are now approaching.

What then was the precise error of which Virgilius the Schemer

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[6] It seems to have been a common stratagem of transgressors censured by St. Boniface to claim that they had been absolved by the Pope himself. In a letter written three years before this, in 745, Pope Zachary says: "Thou hast also let us know that those priests, who were ejected previously, are spreading the report in the region of the Franks that they have been absolved by us. Let thy holy fraternity never believe this, because if we had done so (which is impossible) we would have indicated it to thy charity by letter. But do thou never believe such an impossible thing. We do not preach one thing and carry out or enjoin another, as those men foolishly prate (ut illi garriunt)." Hartzheim, S. J., "Concilia Germaniae," vol. I., p. 71.

[7] See "Kirchliches Handlexikon," under Vivilo and Salzburg.

was accused? He taught, "*quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sint*"—that there is below the earth another world and other men.

Let us remember that this is all we know of his teaching, and we are not allowed to read more into these few words than is really in them. Now these words do not express the doctrine that there are antipodes. The other side of the globe is not "another world," but simply an extension of that part which we inhabit. By "other men" cannot be meant races differing merely in size or color or shape of the head or language. St. Boniface knew very well that such races existed. Neither he nor the Pope would have taken the slightest offense if Virgilius had maintained that there were Negroes or pigmies or giants. Nor would Virgilius have told the world and the Bavarian court anything new by such an announcement. If he really intended to assert the existence of antipodes, he certainly chose the worst possible form. In that case the statement as it lies before us would not betray a learned scientist or philosopher, but a mere dabbler who had not even passed the stage of amateur knowledge. The assertion, therefore, can be taken in one sense only, namely, that there is somewhere in connection with the earth a totally different world with a totally different mankind not descending from Adam and consequently not subject to original sin, not in need of redemption, not obliged to receive the sacrament of baptism. Such a doctrine, which threatened the most fundamental principles of Christianity, was indeed apt to horrify any one who had the welfare of the Church and the purity of the faith at heart.

The error of Virgil the Schemer, therefore, was a purely theological error. The question of the shape of the earth or the existence or non-existence of antipodes, had nothing to do with it. It was a heresy which denied most important Christian dogmas.

Nor was this teaching of Virgil the Schemer too odd, too abnormal for the time in which he lived. The lands which St. Boniface evangelized were rife with errors about the sacrament of baptism. Bold innovators openly denied even the necessity of baptism. As remarked above, the very letter from which out passage is taken is almost entirely devoted to the doctrine concerning this most necessary sacrament and the attacks made against it. For years Boniface had been fighting for purity of doctrine in Germany, but the most vicious onslaughts were directed against the first and most essential of all sacraments. Errors of this kind were in the air, as were within our own times the dreamings of Modernism. The assertion "that there is another world and other men below the earth" fits very well into that chaos of rude superstitions and monstrous

doctrinal aberrations which covered the mission field of St. Boniface.[8]

V. DEDUCTIONS.

We are now enabled to see what mistakes have been made by a number of writers who did not take the trouble of looking closely at the "Rerum Fontes," the documentary evidence.

I. Pope St. Zachary did not oppose the advancement of science. There was no question of science at all. The whole matter was strictly within the sphere of theology, and the Pope acted as it behooved the head of the Church to act in such a vital matter. St. Zachary was a Greek, though born in Italy, and was highly praised for his learning even by his Byzantine enemies.[9] We may safely presume, nay, unless we have a document expressly showing the contrary, we are obliged to presume, that he knew how to distinguish a question of geography from a theological issue. The statement of H. Zimmer, that "the Pope had more sympathy for Virgil's scientific proclivities" is flatly contradicted by our source. The Pope fully shared the views of his legate beyond the Alps.

II. Of course, "the narrow-minded Boniface" does not exist in history. Nor can the apostle be accused of geographical ignorance or theological inferiority.

III. Virgil the Schemer, far from behaving like a saint, appears as an ambitious wire-puller, who did not even shrink from deceit to obtain a Bishopric. Instead of surpassing St. Boniface in theological science, he either did not recognize at all what a destructive heresy he was propounding, or he opposed the true faith contrary to his better knowledge. Our sources tell us nothing about his nationality. If the Germans or the French or the Irish are so minded they may claim him as one of theirs, and all with equal right.

IV. This Virgilius the Schemer is not the Irish saint of the same name who as Bishop of Salzburg became the apostle of the north-eastern Alps. The Schemer was not of the stuff of which saints are made. Nor do such egotistic politicians over night change into unselfish apostles. Moreover, if we accept the dates given in the saint's life, the latter was at this time already abbot of the monastery of St. Peter at Salzburg and as such Bishop of that diocese, though he did not have himself consecrated before 767. If he had been the Virgil whom St. Boniface reported to the Pope, he would have been named by his title, and the Pope would have known whether he was a priest or not. Says Horace K. Mann in his "Lives of the Popes:"

[8] See article of "American Catholic Quarterly Review" quoted above. Also Mann, "Lives of the Popes," vol I., part II., p. 238 ff., gives some idea of the serious errors against which St. Boniface had to contend.

[9] Mann, "Lives of the Popes," vol. I., part II., p. 227, note.

"There is further no reason for believing that this Virgil, who in 748 was intriguing for a Bishopric, is the same as St. Virgilius, the famous Irishman, who was the Apostle of Carinthia."[10] Nor is there any need of explaining away a difference between him and his ecclesiastical superiors. No such difference ever existed.

V. Nor is Virgilius the Baptizer identical with the holy Bishop of Salzburg. The first letter concerning him and Sidonius was written in 744, 745 or 746, and in 748 the matter was still pending, both were still fully under the jurisdiction of St. Boniface and the Pope treats both as ordinary priests. It is not known, either, whether this Virgilius and Sidonius, his companion, were Franks or Bavarians or Irishmen.

VI. CONCLUSION.

To show the necessity of going back to the original sources, James H. Robinson gives an interesting example.[11] We all have read that about the year 1000 there was a general expectation of the end of the world. In Catholic and Protestant authors we found hair-raising descriptions of the terrible panic that reigned everywhere. Horror-stricken, we are told, the people forgot everything, and concentrated their thoughts upon (the) preparation for the Dies Irae. Shortly after the middle of the last century French scholars began to investigate upon what evidence this story was based. It turned out more and more that the chroniclers of that fearful time knew nothing of such an apprehension, that people went about their business as usual and wrote books and erected monumental buildings with no idea of an impending catastrophe. It was the neglect of original sources which caused this story to be circulated during several centuries.

Here we have a similar instance. The source was indeed well known. The letter of Pope Zachary is found in many collections, and is constantly referred to in works of ecclesiastical and secular history. But evidently many writers simply took over what others had said before them. Those who went to the trouble of looking at the sources failed to scrutinize them closely enough. St. Boniface and Pope St. Zachary, living as they did in the "Dark Ages," were of course supposed to have been ignorant of the actual shape of the earth. Hence it is that three personages appear identified because of the identity of their names and both the Pope and his legate are made to hold views of which they never thought. An endless number of books, old and new, from the tiny textbook of Church history to the mighty tomes of learned theological and historical publications, will have to be corrected accordingly. F. S. Bettem.

[10] Vol. I., part II., p. 248, note.
[11] "Readings in European History," vol. I., p. 3.

SHRINES, HERMITAGES AND HISTORICAL PLACES OF INTEREST IN THE LAND OF WILLIAM TELL.

THE student of European history will seek in vain for more thrilling stories of patriotic heroism or of religious devotion than are recorded in Helvetian annals. The poet and the dramatist—Lamartine, Schiller, Sheridan Knowles—have exhausted their imagination in seeking to describe pictures drawn from the romantic adventures and the inspiring deeds of her hardy mountaineers in their struggles for civil liberty and under religious persecution. The student of legendary lore turns to the same rich source for some of his most weird and imaginative themes. The lover of the picturesque revels in the grandeur of Alpine scenery, while the daring and venturesome tourist finds among its lofty peaks and rocky pathways the best opportunities for satisfying his longing for novelty and danger. The Swiss peasant always remains a peasant. He is religious, unaffected, laborious; a shepherd, an agriculturist, a patriot, a soldier, an artisan and above all a freeman (as he understands the meaning of freedom) and ever ready to stake his life against serfdom. The limited size of his country reduces each canton, as it were, to a single family. He has no ambition to make conquests, but is ever apprehensive of being conquered, and well he may when he considers the fate of Belgium and the geographical position of his country and its proximity to "uber alles." Municipal government is the only authority he seems to care for. He wishes to be governed by habits and customs rather than laws.

It is not the purpose of this paper to describe this beautiful land of mountain and valley, of torrent and river, of glacier and avalanche, or to indicate an itinerary for the tourist. Our purpose is rather to call attention to shrines, hermitages, holy nooks and historical places of interest to the Catholic and which most guidebooks either studiously ignore or glide over, too often with a sneer indicating both bigotry and a superficial inquiry into the history of the place.

Entering Switzerland from Germany, we come to my native city of Bale or Basle, as the Germans pronounce it. It is the second city in size as to population, of which Catholics to-day number about one-fourth. This city is mentioned as far back in history as the year 374, under the name of Basilea, and appears to have been founded by the Roman army when it fell back on the Rhine, near the old Colonia Augusta Rauracorum, which was founded B. C. 27 by L. Murantius Planctus, whose statue may

still be seen in the Court of the Rathhaus. The Diocese of Bale includes nine cantons and comprises something like 500,000 Catholics. While Bale gives the name to the diocese and should be the episcopal see, it has no Catholic cathedral, and its Bishop, exiled many years ago from his legitimate see, moved to Soleure, where there is an imposing cathedral, but being driven from here by a "republican" government, he finally settled at Luzerne, where he still resides. Bale contains several churches, all but two of them built before the Reformation. Of these two, one, St. Elizabeth's, is a memorial church built by a private citizen in memory of his wife. The other is a Catholic church, in Gros-Basel,[1] built some thirty years ago, not by the government, but by the Catholics of the city. While all the churches (except St. Elizabeth's) were built in Catholic times, the Catholics are allowed but one church, St. Clara's, in Klein-Basel, and the one in Gros-Basel, above referred to. These churches are allowed on condition that no missions or "revivals" shall be held in them—simply Mass, Vespers, Benediction and sermon on the Gospel of the day. I doubt if the Bishop is allowed to visit these churches even to administer confirmation. Yet Switzerland, like France, is called a republic. They may be republics in the European acceptation of the term, but they would never be recognized as such in the American sense of the word.

During the trying days of the Kulturkampf ("made in Germany") in the seventies the Catholic population of Switzerland suffered all manner of persecution. In 1873 we find Bishop Lachat protesting to the Federal Council against outrages committed against the Church in the Cantons of Bale, Berne, Argovia, Thurgovia and Soleure and against the decree which pronounced the "destitution of the Bishop of Bale," and later on (December, 1874) "suppressed the Catholic Chapter" and "decreed the liquidation of the property of the bishopric." The Federal Assembly turned a deaf ear to the Bishop's appeals and protests and further decreed that "the cantonal governments may, from henceforth, suppress at will all Catholic dioceses in Switzerland." This was followed by the immediate suppression of all parochial schools. The story of the expulsion of Bishops from their sees, of priests from their parishes, and the intrusion of a handful of "Old Catholics" into churches that had up to this time been crowded with the faithful, is too well known, and its recital would lead us far beyond the purpose of this paper. Suffice it to say that when a priest was available the faithful were obliged to hear

[1] Basel is built on both sides of the Rhine; one side is called Gros-Basle, the other Klein-Basle. The two sections of the city are connected by bridges.

Mass in barns or "granges," as they called them. Here when a priest dare not show himself the congregation assembled and had a "White Mass" (une Messe Blanche). I asked a friend what was meant by a "White Mass." He described one he had witnessed in the Jura region:

"I was present," said he to me, "at prayers in the 'grange' of a charming village some three miles from Poventruy. This 'commune' has the signal honor of having suffered the most from the Bernese persecution. Its municipal council was suspended because of its loyalty to the Catholic cause. The 'White Mass' I witnessed in this village was a most touching scene and one never to be forgotten. Some five hundred devoted souls crowded into the 'grange;' an altar, as plain and simple as the Crib at Bethlehem, was erected in this patriarchal sanctuary. Everything was here, the chalice covered with the veil; two lanterns symbolized the lamps that illumined the stable at Nazareth. But the priest, where was he? Driven beyond the frontiers, but his heart was still with us. The congregation assembled with solemn faces and participated in the service in respectful silence. The village schoolmistress now came forward with prayer book in hand. After announcing the feast days of the week, she read the Mass prayers, the epistle and the Gospel of the day. During the 'Kyrie' and 'Gloria' a choir of men sang some appropriate hymns, and their solemn tones told most eloquently the sorrow that filled their hearts. I do not know whether the acoustic of the 'grange' enhanced the effect of those voices, but it seemed to me that music had never impressed me as it did now. After the Gospel Captain X. stood up and read one of the sermons regularly sent to his people by Father Stouden from his place of exile. Strange to say, this sermon on charity was an appeal to a suffering congregation in behalf of the unfortunate victims of the recent floods in the south of France. He asked a generous sacrifice of his own tried people, whose sufferings made them appreciate the sufferings of their fellow-men, and these good people were not deaf to their pastor's appeal. The sermon over, the Mass prayers were continued until the end. The congregation dispersed in silence; few words were uttered; every one knew the load that rested on his neighbor's heart. Some few devout souls remained on their knees to finish their 'chaplet,' and then the altar was stripped and the 'grange' deserted. As I looked at the faces of that devoted congregation and read the various emotions they displayed, I seemed to recall the touching scenes enacted by the primitive Christians during their days of persecution."

It was only after a long time that the use of some of the churches was restored to the rightful owners. But despite its

spoliations and persecution, Switzerland has much that is of interest to the Catholic student, and the ancient city of Bale is not without its attractions. The old cathedral or munster, on the banks of the Rhine, and long—yes, since the so-called Reformation—used as a Protestant place of worship, is well worth a visit. It is built on the site of a still more ancient edifice; the present church was built originally in the Byzantine style in 1010 by the Emperor Henry II. and consecrated by Bishop Adalbert II., the twenty-fourth Bishop of the diocese, on October 11, 1019. On the feast of St. Luke, 1356, a great portion of the building was destroyed by an earthquake and the church was rebuilt in the Gothic style.

In wandering through the interior of this historic church I saw along the walls the tombs of many illustrious personages: the Empress Anne, of Hohenberg, wife of the Emperor Rudolph I. of Habsburg (aus dem hause Habsburg). Her effigy is represented in robes of state, and beside her rests the figure of her youngest son, Charles. Further on I noticed a marble monument to the memory of the "learned Erasmus," of Rotterdam. It is a tribute from his friends and admirers. On the upper part appears the symbol "Deus Terminus," which Erasmus chose to remind him that death is the inevitable lot of all. On a pillar opposite to the Erasmus tomb is a haut-relief of the eleventh century, telling the story of St. Vincent, martyr. It represents his arrest and flagellation, his imprisonment and the torture inflicted by the tyrant Dacian; his death, his soul borne away by angels, and his body, which had been thrown into a field, being covered with leaves by the ravens to protect it against wild beasts. The next scene represents the body cast into the sea, which throws it back upon the land, where it is rescued and buried with reverence by Christian hands. It is not unlikely that these tablets formed the retables of the main altar of the ancient chapel of St. Vincent at Munsterberg, destroyed in 1580.

Among the many other tombstones of note we can only mention those of George of Andlau, first rector of the University of Bale, who died in 1466; Thuring of Ramstein, provost of the Cathedral (d. 1367), Bishop Henry of Neuenberg (d. 1274), Walter of Clingen, founder of the cloister of Klingenthal (d. 1388). Adjoining the munster is still shown the hall in which the famous Council of Bale was held in the year 1431. This hall is now used as a museum and contains many objects of historical interest, many paintings, sculptures and carvings that tell of Switzerland during her "ages of faith." The University Library, which contains over 200,000 volumes and some 5,000 manuscripts, was founded in 1459 by Pope Pius II. On a wooded hill near Arle-

sheim we notice the ruins of Schloss-Birseck, the former chateau of the ancient Bishops of Bale. In remote times, when the country was subject to barbarian incursions and to attacks from robber bands, the Bishops were obliged, at times, to wear armor as well as episcopal robes; they were obliged to be *active* members of the Church *militant* as well as of the Church suffering. They were obliged to live in strong castles, with a quasi-military retinue to protect them against the Huns of their day. Unlike the Huns of our day, these men were content with spoils and booty and rarely destroyed buildings, as their more savage descendants of to-day seem to delight in doing. I visited one of these old castles, at Arlesheim, and found it roofless in parts. The "banquet hall" was still in a good state of preservation. In size it compared with an ordinary room (about 13 by 15 feet) in any moderate-sized house of to-day. In the centre of the room was a table with a red cover; both table and cover struck me as of modern design. The only evidence of real antiquity to be seen in the room was the presence of four sets of steel armor, helmets and halbreds which stood one in each corner of the room. The chapel is a small room, rather an oratory than a chapel. The walls were profusely decorated with the names of foreign visitors—mostly of Anglo-Saxon origin—who evidently mistook this sanctuary for an autograph album. The bare stone altar was the only thing that suggested its original use. Yet time was when armored warriors knelt around that altar in preparation for the contest that awaited them.

More interesting than the Bishop's castle—to the people of to-day at least—in the Hermitage, nearby. We had asked permission to visit the hermit, and were told we might enter his abode when we heard the sound of the bell in the belfry over the hermitage. We had hardly finished our visit to the castle when the bell rang out its invitation to us. This "hermitage" is a plain, one-room house, with a rude boulder for a doorstep. In the interior of the room I noticed what appeared to be a bench, in one corner, covered with leaves. This, I learned, was the hermit's bed. The only other furniture in the room was a rude table, on which were a book, a skull and a crust of bread. Seated at this table, in his brown Franciscan habit, and apparently engaged in meditation, was the hermit. As we entered he raised his head from his book and with his hand motioned for us to advance. I noticed that his movements were *rather* mechanical, and soon realized that our host *was* a mechanical hermit. The real hermit who had once lived here had gone to his reward many years ago, and the figure before us was only a mechanical "counterpart" clad in the "habit" of the original hermit, and kept here as a memorial

of the humble servant of God who had spent years of his life in praying for those who never say a prayer. The age of hermits has passed away, but in their day they had their uses. True, they spent much of their time in prayer and meditation, but they also cultivated the little garden adjoining their hermitage, and thus provided for their sustenance. Then, too, in the winter season, when the mountain passes were choked up with snow and the by-paths obliterated, the hermit was on the alert to rescue the weary wayfarer, give him such scanty hospitality as he could afford and show him his way, when it was safe for him to proceed on his journey.

Before leaving Bale we must not fail to visit the Eschenplatz and see the St. Jacob Monument, erected in memory of the Swiss who fell while opposing the Armagnac invasion of 1444. On a massive pedestal stands a colossal statue of Helvetia. At her feet, in crouching position, are four wounded warriors, with the device: "Our souls to God, our faces to the enemy." Soleure (German Solothurn) is one of the most ancient towns of Helvetia. It is the capital of the canton to which it gives its name, and is supposed to be the *cathedra* of the Bishop of Bale, but, as we have stated above, the Bishop has long since been obliged to make his residence at Luzerne; and this notwithstanding the fact that the Catholics comprise three-fourths of the population of the canton. The inhabitants of Soleure claim for their city the honor of its being the oldest town this side of the Alps next to Treves. The oldest building is the clock tower (*la Tour Rouge*), said to have been erected in the fourth century B. C. Other authorities ascribe its origin to the Merovingian period. Soleure was the old Roman Solodurum; an inscription on the clock tower reads as follows: "In Celtis nihil est Solodoro antiquius, exceptis Treviris, quarum ego dicta soror." In the platz, or square, adjoining this tower it was the custom for traveling actors to make "a stand" here and perform classical Greek plays without scenery, of course, for the amusement of the inhabitants. I was informed by a reliable authority that all the salary these actors received was "one pair of leather breeches a year," and they seemed well satisfied with it.

The Cathedral of St. Ursus, an imposing and venerable looking building, occupies an elevated position. It was built in 1762-73, on the site of a former edifice of 1056, is cruciform and is surmounted by a dome and two half domes. The façade is reached by a noble flight of thirty-three steps; at each end of this façade is a fountain, one adorned by a statue of Moses smiting the rock, the other with a large figure of Gideon wringing the dew from the fleece. The interior of the building is imposing and spacious, and like most of the Cathedrals of its period, I noted a custom which seemed to me

peculiar to Soleure. On Sundays and holy days the Solemn High Mass is celebrated at 10.30 A. M., but the sermon of the day is preached between the 9 o'clock Mass and the late Mass—it is a part of the service entirely by itself and permits those who have "no time" to hear sermons to retire at will. The "preacher" is regularly appointed for this duty, and preaches every Sunday. I was glad to notice that very few left the church, as the preacher was my kinsman, and well known in this country as the author of a "Life of Christ," translated for English-speaking readers by the late Rev. Dr. Richard Brennan, of New York. He is also the author of Gilmour's "Church History," long used in our parochial schools.

Near the postoffice, at No. 5 Bielerstrasse, I was shown the house in which Thaddeus Kosciusko, famous in American Revolutionary history, spent the last years of his life. He died in 1817, and his affection for the land of William Tell must have been very strong, for at his request his heart was interred at Zuckwyl, a short distance from Soleure, on the right bank of the Aare. Here a simple monument shaded by weeping willows bears the inscription: "Viscera Thaddei Koscziusko." His body reposes in the Cathedral at Cracow, near the remains of his illustrious countrymen, Sobieski and Poniatowski. As I looked upon this memorial stone I could not help thinking of the great "Irish Agitator," Daniel O'Connell, who willed his heart to Rome and his body to Ireland. I have stood under the shadow of the round tower that surmounts his tomb in old Glasnevin and I have more than once placed my hand on his massive oaken coffin. I spent many pleasant days at Soleure, at the presbytery of my reverend cousin. I found the vicinity of Soleure replete with scenes and nooks and grottoes that tell of the abiding faith not only of the present generation but of that of their heroic ancestors. Along the road from the town to the Weissenstein, one of the most frequented heights in the Jura, we pass a Benedictine monastery, to which the poor of the vicinity come daily for their noonday soup and the food they carry home to their families. A little further on we come to a series of granite crosses set up at equal distances one from the other and representing the *Via Crucis*. Here at given times the people repair to "make the Stations." Beyond this we come to a replica of the Holy House of Loretto, a devotion-inspiring structure.

We next proceed through a narrow and shady ravine, now converted into a delightful promenade, that leads to the Weissenstein, and follow the gorge with the heights upon our left, while a pretty little brook babbles along on our right. As we proceed we come to excavations at the foot of the mountain in which we notice life-size statues of saints in a recumbent posture. We have now reached the hermitage of St. Verina. On the left side of the ravine just

mentioned is a chapel hewn in the solid rock. It is reached by a flight of steps built in the side of the mountain. This chapel is a replica of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the inner chamber of the chapel there is a sarcophagus in which reposes a life-size figure of the dead Christ. To reach this inner chamber the visitor must crawl on hands and knees through a lower opening. Just across the road from this chapel is another—a very ancient stone chapel long out of use, but interesting because of the mortuary inscriptions on the stone floor, some of which date back to the thirteen hundreds. Adjacent to this chapel is the dwelling of the hermit. It is situated on a little island hardly more than an acre in extent, around which flows the little brook above mentioned. The dwelling is a plain wooden, one-room structure (cabin as we would call it). Here the hermit leads his solitary life of prayer and contemplation, but not of idleness. He lives on the products of his "little acre," which he cultivates with care, and such offerings as he may receive from tourists and which he receives with reluctance. Yet the good man finds uses for them on his rare pilgrimages to holy places remote from his native land. He is a man of few words, agreeable manners and a benevolent countenance. He does not seek conversation, and when his solitude is intruded upon by the curious tourist, he is polite, but prudent and reserved. Leaving this interesting spot, about which so much of historical interest might be said, we pass the crosses above the chapel and the quarries of Portland limestone, which at times reward the visitor with interesting fossils, and walk through the woods and climb up the mountainside to the Wengistein. On the side of this mountain (a section of the Jura), overlooking the beautiful valley at its base, is a large granite boulder bearing the Latin inscription:

Civibus Solodorensibus
Ob devictum
Humanitatem Hostem
MCCCXVIII
et
Nic Wengio Praet
Observatam Civium
Fidem et Vitam
MDXXXIII
Saxum Hoc Deducavit
Posterum Pietas
MDCCCXIII

This boulder has been regarded as a "foundling," as it is supposed to have been brought here centuries ago by a glacier. The Latin inscription just mentioned tells the story that Nicholas Wengi, to

whose memory this stone is erected, and in whose honor the immediate locality has been named the Wengistein—was also regarded as a "foundling." He came to Soleure in his early youth and by his upright life soon became a favorite with the people. In time, by his prudence and foresight he became the leader of the Catholic party in the wars then waged between the Catholic and Protestant factions of the canton. On one occasion, when the two armies were arrayed against each other, ready for the fray, Wengi raised a flag of truce and requested an interview with the leader of the Protestant party. It was granted. The two leaders met in the "no man's land" lying between the contending armies. After the customary military salutations, Wengi said to his opponent: "My friend, we are both Christians, and our conduct in fighting each other is anything but Christian and is, moreover, a scandal to Christian nations. Why may we not live in peace as becomes Christians? Let us lay down our arms, return to our homes and families and lead Christian lives, each respecting the other?" The Protestant leader saw the wisdom of this proposition and gladly assented. This ended the religious wars of that period. The Wengi monument records this event. But if Wengi put an end to bloody religious wars, he could not stay the hand of religious persecution. In the '70's the canton of Soleure as well as the town felt the effect of the Kulturkampf and the Folk laws (made in Germany and imported into Switzerland), when her churches and monasteries were taken from them and given over to a handful of "Old Catholics," her Bishops deprived of their sees and her clergy exiled.

We leave Soleure with deep regret and proceed on our journey in search of "souvenir" spots. Going from Neuchatel to Pontarlier through the Val de Travers, we pass many interesting little nooks—interesting because of their historical associations. Near the French frontier we come to Verrieres, and at the defile of La Cluse is the Fort de Joux. Here we are told that Mirabeau was imprisoned in 1775; but what is of greater interest to the American student is the fact that here, in 1803, died Toussaint l'Ouverture, the celebrated Negro liberator of the island of San Domingo. After being treacherously arrested, he was confined in this fort by Napoleon, some ten years previous to his death. Mirabeau and Toussaint l'Ouverture! It was strange that two such opposite characters should have passed their days of exile and imprisonment in this out-of-the-way fort in the Jura mountains; one at the instance of his own father; the other and nobler of the two, by order of Napoleon, whose armies had been sorely tried by the Christian Negro liberator on the very island on which Columbus founded the first settlement in the New World. While in this part of the country, we find two other names with which American students are familiar. Neuchatel

has its extensive natural history library, founded by Professor Agassiz, who died in America in 1873. Then there is Burgdorf, with its famous chateau, in which, in 1795, Pestolazzi established his celebrated school, which in 1804 he removed to Munchent-Buchsee, and later on to Yverdon, where he presided over his school for twenty years (1805-1825). Born at Zurich, Pestolazzi devoted his early life to the study of theology and jurisprudence, but he soon realized that his lifework lay in another direction. He became a teacher whose fame became world-wide. His methods, however, became more popular after his death than they had been during his lifetime.

On our way from Berne to Lausanne we pass through Fribourg (German Frieburg), the capital of the canton to which it gives its name and founded in 1175. It has a population of about 12,000, and is situated on the boundary line between the German-speaking cantons and the French. While German is still spoken in "the lower quarters" of the city, French is the predominant language. The great majority of the people are Catholics. Its old Gothic Cathedral of St. Nicholas dates back to 1285 and with its massive towers and its great organ commands the attention of the visitor. The buildings of note are described in books on Switzerland with more or less accuracy, according to the "lights" and prejudices of the author, but as we are dealing only with out-of-the-way places, we are not concerned with them at present. Some three and a half miles from the town, on the Sarine, we come to a cell or chapel cut into the rock, somewhat after the manner of those we have described at Soleure. This is known as the hermitage of St. Magdalena. It is now only a "show-place," and mentioned in some guide-books as a "place of little interest," but to the student of history and to devout souls it tells the story of those "Ages of Faith" when men and women realized that they had souls worth saving—who "longed to be alone with God." Nor were these holy souls mere idlers and dreamers, confined to one nation or section of country, nor to any one age. Among the Irish monks who wished to be "alone with God" we find the name of Decuil, who settled in Iceland in the year 795. Besides being a hermit, he was a geographer, and in his solitude in 825 wrote his treatise, "De Mensura Orbis Terræ," on the measurement of the earth. Another case in point is that of Pietro di Murrone, the hermit of Sulmona, founder of the Celestines, who was practically dragged from his hermit's cave to sit on the Papal throne under the title of Celestine V., and who after his death was canonized.

Payene, once the temporary residence of the Burgundian kings, is said to have been known as the Roman Paterniacum. It still contains some interesting historical buildings, among which are an ancient Benedictine abbey and a church erected by Bertha, queen of Ru-

dolph II. The church is now a granary and the abbey has been transformed into a school of the reform cult. The remains of the pious queen as well as those of her royal husband and of her son, Conrad, were discovered about a hundred years ago under the tower of the ancient church and reinterred in the present parish church. We might add that the queen's saddle, with a hole in it for her distaff, is still shown. To this day the expression, "Ce n'est plus le temps ou Berthe filait," is the regretful allusion to the good old times when queens were not above engaging in domestic cares.

The canton of Schaffhausen has a Catholic population estimated at between four and five thousand, or about one-ninth of the entire population. The capital, which gives its name to the canton, has some interesting features, among which is the old Cathedral, once a Benedictine abbey. It was commenced in 1564 and finished in 1590. It took twenty-six years to build it, but we must remember that if in those days they built slowly they also built solidly. The church was for a long time neglected and allowed to fall into decay, because of the change in the form of worship, or what is more likely, because of the absence of all worship. The interior has, of late years, been somewhat restored, but the main interest in the building to-day is the great bell, cast in 1480, bearing the significant inscription: "Vivos, voco, mortuos plango, fulgua frango." It was this inscription that inspired Schiller to write his beautiful "Lied von der Glocke," reproduced in English by Poe's equally beautiful poem, "The Bells." The immediate vicinity of the little town of Simpach is noted as the scene of the memorable defeat of the Duke Leopold, of Austria, by the Swiss Confederation, under their intrepid Catholic leader, Arnold Winkelried, on July 8, 1386. He gave his life for the liberty of his country, but the Duke himself fell with 263 of his knights.

"Thus Switzerland again was free,
And Death made way for Liberty."

In the middle of Lake Constance we get a view of the little island of Reichenau with its Benedictine abbey, once richly endowed, but which fell into decay during the time of religious persecution and was finally secularized in 1790. This venerable edifice was consecrated as early as 806, and contains the remains of Charles the Fat (great-grandson of Charlemagne), who was dethroned in 887. It has been restored sufficiently to permit its use as a parish church for the neighboring villages. Only the tower and nave of the original building remain, and a number of relics and reliquaries are still preserved in the sacristy. It is painful to see the number of venerable buildings in Switzerland that have been allowed to fall in ruins or which have been preserved and used for a worship

for which they were never intended, but such is unhappily the case. The Dominican monastery of Constance, situated on an island near the town, has been partly "converted" into a hotel. The well-preserved Romanesque cloisters with the beautiful vaulted dining room, formerly the church, adjoining them, the old refectory, now "appropriately" used as a restaurant (as some writers describe it), all tell of the hatred of the Reformers for the old faith of their fathers. St. Gall, or St. Gallen, figures prominent in the history of education, for it was here that in the seventh century St. Gallus, an Irish missionary, came. Here on what is now one of the highest situated towns in Helvetia, and indeed in Europe, is a town that now bears his name and is an episcopal see. Here, too, St. Gall founded a Benedictine monastery. This monastery was suppressed in 1805, but it was one of the most famous seats of learning from the eighth to the tenth century. From this institution there went forth in its palmy days missionaries and teachers whose names have come down to our day, and its classic halls counted its students by the thousands. In its library may be found many valuable manuscripts, among which may be mentioned a Psalter of Nolker Labeo of the tenth century, and a Niebelungenlied of the fifteenth century. Of those mentioned in the catalogue of the year 823, about 400 are said to still exist. Not far away is the Martinstobel, where in the early part of the tenth century the monk Notker wrote his "In Metia Vita in Morte Sumus," suggested to him by seeing a man accidentally killed.

The canton of Appenzell, divided in 1597 into two half-cantons, Aussen-Rhoden and Inner-Rhoden, is to this day disturbed by religious troubles. The town of Appenzell, the capital of the canton, is in Inner-Rhoden. The word Appenzell is a corruption of Abbatis Cella. The town was once the temporary residence of the abbots of St. Gallen and boasts of two monasteries, and in the church may be seen the relics of banners captured by Appenzellers in the fifteenth century. The Catholic Swiss were never behindhand when the call for liberty sounded. Nafels and Ober-Urnen are the only Catholic villages in the canton of Glarus. At the former place there is still a Capuchin monastery, very poor, indeed, but its poverty has been a blessing, inasmuch as it has saved it from being suppressed. Lucerne, which derives its name from the word "lucerne," a lighthouse, is an ancient Catholic city enclosed by walls and watch-towers dating back to 1325. Its amphitheatrical situation on a beautiful lake spanned by picturesque bridges, one of which is a veritable historical art gallery, gives the city a unique appearance. Add to this the Rigi looking down upon it from its height of over 4,000 feet on the one side and the bold and rugged heights of Pilatus on the other, and the magnificent view of the snow-capped Alps—all tend to make Lucerne a most attractive city. The guide

books are full of enthusiastic descriptions of its surroundings, of its picturesque bypaths and historical memorials, among which may be mentioned Thorwaldsen's famous Lion of Lucerne, cut out of the natural sandstone rock. It commemorates the heroism of the Swiss guard who fell in defense of the Tuilleries, in Paris, on August 10, 1792. Fain would I linger among the stories and legends that cluster around Lucerne, its lakes and its mountain peaks, but, as we have said more than once, these are not our concern at present.

The old Cathedral, with its slender towers dating back to 1506, is visited by tourists who are anxious to hear its famous organ. The Church of the Jesuit Fathers, not far from the post office, is noted for its peculiar style of architecture. In one of its chapels is an altar-piece representing St. Nikolaus von der Flüe, who many years ago lived in the vicinity of the romantic valley of the Malechthal, at the entrance of which we find the Church of St. Nikolaus, or St. Klaus, as it is commonly called. This was the first Christian church erected in this region. The ancient tower adjoining it is locally known as the Hecdenthurn, or heathen's tower. Beyond this, some two or three miles distant, is the "Ranft" or Brow of the Mountain, at one time a desolate wilderness, and it was here that good St. Nikolaus built his hermitage and spent over twenty years in prayer and meditation. Part of the woodwork of this humble dwelling, and of the stone that once constituted his couch have been cut off and carried away by iconoclastic relic-hunters, to whom nothing that is not their own is sacred. St. Nikolaus von der Flüe is said to have derived his name from the "Flüe," or rock near which he lived for upwards of twenty years, and during that time to have subsisted solely on the Holy Eucharist. His isolated life, however, was not a useless one. He acted as intermediary in the settlement of the discussion as to the division of spoils following the war against Charles the Bald, of Burgundy, in 1482. St. Nikolaus died in 1487, and in due time was canonized, and his memory is still held in veneration by the people of the forest cantons of Unbrualden. There are few homes in which a picture or statuette of the holy man may not be seen to this day. The "habit" he wore in life is said to be still preserved in the Jesuit church at Lucerne, above alluded to.

The vicinity of Lucerne for miles around abounds in little nooks, where are to be found oratories, shrines and chapels to each of which is attached a legend of days gone by. They vary in character, but they all tell of the strong Catholic faith of the Swiss peasants of these ages of faith. Superstition, some would call it to-day, but we might well wish that some of that "superstition" existed in our

land, yes, even in this glorious and enlightened twentieth century. It would act as a safeguard against many temptations.

There is a chapel near the village of Gersau known as the Kindlenord (the Infanticide). Near by is a black cross which legend tells us marks the spot of some tragic incident, and the story this time tells us that many years ago a poor, demented fiddler, returning from a wedding at Treib, "killed his starving child by dashing it against the rocks." The cross asks the passerby to say a prayer for the unfortunate man. Memorial crosses of this kind are to be found along mountain roads in all parts of Switzerland, as well as in all parts of Catholic Europe. Mother Church never forgets her unknown dead. Our journey leads us from here to the shores of Lake Uri, which the German-speaking Swiss call Urner-see. On a lofty rock on the west bank of this lake, and which is eighty feet high, we read an inscription in huge iron letters, a tribute of gratitude to the German poet and dramatist, Schiller, the "Bard of Tell."

We are now entering the classic region associated with memories of the great liberator. Just a little way beyond Séelisberg are the three springs of the Rütli or Grütli, which gush from a rocky wall, now overgrown with vegetation. This plateau, the property of the Confederation, indicates the memorable spot where the "Men of Grütli," on the 7th day of November, 1307, men from Uri, Schwytz and Unterwalden, assembled their followers and bound themselves by a solemn oath to be faithful to each other, and not to rest until the Austrian oppressors had been driven from the soil of Helvetia. This place has always been regarded with special veneration, and tradition tells us that the three springs above referred to sprung up on the spot where Erni (the Arnold of Rossini's opera) of Unterwalden; Werner (of Sheridan Knowles' play of "William Tell"), of Schwytz, and Walter Fürst (of Schiller's play), of Uri, stood when they took the solemn oath.

Among the various landings in Lake Lucerne, there is one situated at the base of the Axenberg. A large rock rises to a height of 3,358 feet, and here, shadowed by overhanging trees and washed by the waters of the lake, stands Tell's chapel, the shrine of Swiss independence. It was erected by the canton of Uri in 1538, on the spot where the Swiss liberator, William Tell, leaped from the boat in which he was being conveyed to the prison at Kusnacht by the tyrant Gessler. The chapel was rebuilt in 1880 and adorned with historical paintings by Stükelberg, of Basle. It would seem that now, from what information I was able to obtain, Mass is celebrated here but once a year, on the Sunday after Ascension Day, when a patristic sermon is preached. This Mass is attended by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, while those residing along the

shores of the lake come in boats gaily decorated for the occasion. The population of the canton of Uri is almost entirely Catholic.

The famous Rigi, about which tourists never cease to rave, is a group of mountains rising to a height of 5,906 feet, or 4,472 feet above the waters of Lake Lucerne. This group is about twenty-five miles in circumference and is situated between the lakes of Lucerne, Zug and Lowerz. The name Rigi is usually applied only to the north peak of the group. In former times it was called Rigi-Weld (pasturage of the Rigi) by the inhabitants of the region, and is now known simply as "the Rigi" (i. e., the *strata*). The herdsmen and the frequenters of the Kallbad were in times gone by the only people acquainted with the mountain, and in 1609 a pious resident of Arth erected a chapel upon it and dedicated it to Our Lady of Snow (St. Maria zum Schnee) for the use of herdsmen. A statue of Our Lady was placed here in 1690 and the spot soon attracted many pilgrims every year. Kalbad is another interesting place. A path leads through a narrow opening in a great rock to the quaint little St. Michael's Chapel, the walls of which are covered with votive tablets. One of these tablets tells us that two pious women, sisters, sought refuge among these wilds from the persecutions of the Governor of this district in the days of King Albert, and built the chapel. Near the rock, close by the chapel, a spring bubbles forth which was long known as the Schwesternborn, in memory of those two women whose sad story could be thoroughly appreciated by the women of Belgium and Northern France in our day. Coming north from Italy we soon approach the famous St. Gotthard. Let us here explain that the St. Gotthard is not, as many suppose, a single peak, but quite a mountain group with a number of different peaks, extensive glaciers and about thirty small lakes. The tunnel through which the railroad passes, a wonderful piece of engineering, is nine and a quarter miles in length. At times it ascends in numerous windings and the train now emerges into the open for a few minutes, only to plunge again into subterranean darkness. We had the good fortune to get into an "observation car" and among the many scenes that presented themselves to our observation at such times as we came out into the daylight was a pretty little village on the slope of the mountain. The modest little church, with its neat little "clocher," its presbytery or rectory, its humble but well-kept graveyard; the priest's garden, adjoining his dwelling; the good curé in his soutane and clerical hat looking up at the train as he paused in his work and leaned on his spade, all this formed a subject for an artist. But before admiration had reached the point of due appreciation, we were again in total darkness. Again, the sunlight broke in upon us; again a charming scene was before us; another village appeared

so much like the one we had just left with regret. There was the church, the presbytery, the graveyard, the garden and the industrious curé, spade in hand. Thrice as we emerged from one tunnel to plunge into another, was this same scene presented to our eyes, the only difference being the situation and direction of the village from our train. It took us some time to realize that it was the same village with its interesting environment we had been seeing all the time, but we saw it each time at different elevations as our train wound around the mountain. Those little churches and their graveyards, nestled away among the mountains or in the quiet valleys, far away from the baneful influences of metropolitan centres, what a lesson they teach us, if we had the time to listen to them. Millet heard the sound of the bell from their simple churches and was inspired to paint his world-renowned "Angelus."

Among the mountains that look down on Lake Lucerne, in days long gone by, dwelt the holy man known to-day as St. Meinrad. Erinsedeln, perhaps one of the best known abbeys in Europe, to Americans at least, is situated in a green valley, watered by the Alpbach, and is celebrated for its Benedictine abbey, which dates back to the days of Charlemagne. It was here among lofty mountains that the pious Meinrad, Count of Sulgen, on the Nekar, and one of the noblest souls of his day, feeling that the times were out of joint, and that it was impossible to set them right, withdrew to the remote depths of the Finsterwald, and there built the humble cell, on the site of which now stands the world-famed abbey of Einsiedeln. Here the holy hermit passed his days in voluntary poverty, in prayer and meditation, until stricken down by the hand of ungrateful assassins, to whom in his charity he had given an asylum for the night in his poor home. The murderers escaped for a time, but the ravens which had been fed by the hand of the hermit followed them from village to village until they attracted the attention of the authorities. The slayers were arrested and met the fate they so richly deserved.

Long years have changed that hermit's cell into the imposing abbey of Our Lady of Hermits, which stands in sharp contrast with the surrounding country. It has become the cradle of Christian civilization and for over a thousand years it has been the home of many saints, scholars and missionaries who laid the foundation of their future lives within its walls. It has become the shrine of countless pilgrimages from all parts of the world. Its vast library, dating from 946, contains rare volumes and manuscripts of great value. Nothing short of a volume can give an adequate description of this venerable pile and its surroundings, and as there is no end of books on the subject within easy access, it will be enough for us to call attention to it, and have the reader to seek further informa-

tion at his leisure in more pretentious works, We might add, however, that in 1854 this abbey sent a band of Benedictine Fathers to found an abbey in America, and have their missionaries to labor among the Indians. They settled in Spencer county, Indiana. Father Martin Marty was among the first Swiss Fathers to arrive, and it is due to his zeal that schools, chapels and churches multiplied in this part of the State. It is a notable fact that this foundation became the cradle of the Benedictines in the West. Father Marty became first prior and later on first abbot. In 1880 he was made Vicar Apostolic of Dakota. Nine years later he became Bishop of Sioux Falls and in 1874 he succeeded Monsignor Zardetti, his fellow-countryman, as Bishop of St. Cloud. Besides these two Bishops the American Church is indebted to Switzerland for two Archbishops, the Most Rev. John M. Henni, D. D., of Milwaukee, and one of his successors, the present Archbishop, the Most Rev. Sebastian G. Messmer, D. D.

In the vicinity of the Lake of Thun we find the little village of St. Beatus, which lies in a sheltered nook on both sides of the Sundgraben, which opens towards the lake. Here, many years ago, in a cave known as the Cavern of St. Beatus (Beatenhöpe), a holy hermit made it his home. He is said to have been the first to have preached the Gospel of Christ in these regions. We are told that a stream of water which rises in this cavern frequently increases so rapidly that it fills it and then bursts forth with a roar like thunder.

Interlaken, with its magnificent scenery, has been almost entirely converted into an English colony, for in summer nearly two-thirds of its visitors are English-speaking people. Near the town we find an interesting old monastery and convent, founded in 1130 and suppressed in 1528, when the canton passed into the hands of the "Reformers." It is surrounded by majestic old walnut trees that seem to look down upon it in sorrow because of the transformation it has undergone. In 1836 the east wing was turned into a hospital, while the rest of the building, together with the schloss, added in 1750, is occupied as Government offices. The convent, which once resounded with the voice of prayer, is now used as a prison. As we enter the monastery we find the choir fitted up as an English chapel; further on we find another small chapel used by the French Calvinists and by a Scotch Presbyterian congregation. The nave of the church alone is reserved for Catholic worship, and the original owners of this property may be thankful that this little corner is left them. Not far from here is the ruined Castle of Unsprunnen, the reputed residence of Manfred. Standing, as it does, in the midst of the scene in which the drama is laid, Byron evidently had it in mind when he wrote it.

The beautiful city of Geneva, so far as we are concerned, is associated with memories of St. Francis de Sales, who was Bishop of this see from 1602 to 1622, and Cardinal Mermillod. It was the home of Calvin for many years, and the chair he occupied in the memorable Cathedral of St. Peter, which dates back to the tenth cantury, is still shown to tourists. The influence for good and for Christian charity exerted by St. Francis de Sales is felt to this day. Cardinal Mermillod suffered untold persecution at the hands of the cantonal government, but in spite of all this he managed, with the aid of his friends in France, to build a beautiful church in his episcopal city. True, the Government tried to take it from him and give it to the "Old Catholics," but the valiant Cardinal frustrated their nefarious designs. The narrow spirit of Calvin still prevails in Geneva, but for the present, at least, Catholics are left in peace, if not in the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens.

It would be a long story to tell all that might be told, with truth, about the religious struggles that darken the pages of the history of Geneva, but the recital of these struggles is far beyond the scope contemplated in this article. The Valley of Chamouni was first cultivated by a monk of the Benedictine Order, about the beginning of the twelfth century. The reputation of its inhabitants was so bad at that time that travelers never ventured into this valley without being armed and prepared for any emergency, and if obliged to remain there over night, they spent the night in tents strongly guarded rather than trust themselves within the dwellings of the residents. The vicinity acquired the name of Les Montagnes Maudites, and it acted as a ban upon the district, but this did not deter St. Francis de Sales, while Bishop of Geneva, from visiting these pathless wilds alone and on foot, to seek the erring sheep of his flock and lead them back into the fold.

It may be considered a great omission on our part to write about Switzerland and make no mention of the great Hospice of St. Bernard. But this highly interesting pile is not a secluded spot seldom or never visited. On the contrary, there is no place in the Helvetian Republic better known to the tourist, none more fully described in guide books and by travelers of every shade of opinion. Even the Rev. Samuel Irenæus Prime, a one-time prominent Presbyterian minister of New York, who never lost an opportunity to belittle and misrepresent everything Catholic that he touched, found something to admire at Mount St. Bernard. But, as we have said repeatedly in this paper, we are concerned with monks and by-places, places neglected or unmentioned, which St. Bernard is far from being. It may not be generally known, however, that this famous hospice, situated some 8,120 feet above the level of the sea, dates as far back as the year 962, when St. Bernard de Menthon

came from his native village of Menthon and founded his monastery upon this snow-clad height, where the snowy season prevails during nine months of the year. Even to this day travelers are in danger of losing their way on their journeys through the mountain passes. Here the heroic Augustinians built their monastery on the highest inhabitable point in Europe. Here, in spite of the fact that the same fathers cannot stand the severe climate for more than four or five years, they devote themselves to a great work of charity. In summer the hospice is visited by hundreds of tourists, who are entertained by the Brothers, as they are called, and who wait upon them at table. Rarely does a winter pass without some loss of life, as many of the peasants engaged in trade or in sometimes visiting neighbors try to make the pass. Although the paths are indicated by high poles, set up in summer, these are at times so completely buried under mountains of snow, and the poor wayfarer loses his way and sinks exhausted, sometimes to rise no more. For this reason the fathers have trained a number of these celebrated dogs, invested with a sort of nobility when we think of them ploughing through the drifts and leading in the search for the lost ones. They carry around their neck a blanket and a basket of bread and wine as "first aids" to the benumbed. To-day these intelligent animals have been taught *to telephone* to the monastery the locality in which the victim is found. This is done by means of "telephone stations," or poles, set up along the passes. They are numbered, and when the dogs "touch the button" with their paws, the Brothers hasten with restoratives to the station indicated on the monastery switchboard.

Among the many passes in Switzerland hallowed by the labors of missionaries in the early days may be mentioned the Pass of St. Bernardino, known to the Romans, and down to the beginning of the fifteenth century was called the Vogelberg. Long years ago, when St. Bernardino of Siena brought the "glad tidings" to these regions, a chapel was erected on the southern slope of the mountain and the pass has been named in his honor. The village of St. Bernardino, the highest in the Val Mesocco, is essentially Italian and the population is exclusively Catholic, thanks to the exertions of St. Charles Borromeo.

The canton of Ticino is the only Italian canton in Switzerland. It is noted for its magnificent scenery and its numerous sanctuaries. Bellinzona, the capital, can boast of an abbey church in the Italian style of architecture which dates back to the sixteenth century. It has also a very pretty pilgrimage chapel dedicated to Santa Maria della Salute, which is visited by devout souls as a sanctuary, but by tourists who wish to enjoy the beautiful view of the surrounding country to be had from the lofty location of the chapel. Lugano, the largest town in the canton, was in times gone by noted for its

numerous monasteries. These have all been suppressed; two alone remain, that of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, is now known as the Hotel du Parc. San Lorenzo, the principal church in the town, dates from the fifteenth century. Lago Maggiore, sometimes called Lago Lucarno and anciently *Verbanus,* lies partly in Switzerland and partly in Italy, only nine miles of its banks belonging to the former country. This part of this beautiful sheet of water is known as Lake Locarno. The vicinity of the lake is studded with oratories, shrines, chapels and not a few buildings that were once monasteries, but which are now used for secular purposes. On the Monte San Salvatore is a pilgrimage chapel, and not far away is another dedicated to the Madonna del Sasso. Still another may be found on the promontory of San Remegio, that juts out into the lake near Istru; it occupies the site of what was once a temple of Venus. Avona is noted for its church of Sta. Maria and a chapel belonging to the Borromean family.

On a height overlooking Lake Maggi and the surrounding country, and which has claimed the admiration of all who have seen it, is the colossal statue of St. Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan (b. 1538, d. 1584; canonized 1697). This statue was erected in 1697 in honor of the celebrated Cardinal. Its height, including the pedestal, is 112 feet (the figure of the saint is seventy-two feet high).[2] A winding staircase within the figure leads up to the head, in which there is a chamber large enough to admit four persons. The windows which form the eyes afford a superb view of the surrounding country. The head, hands and feet of the statue are in bronze, and the drapery is of wrought copper. The saint is represented standing, attired in the robes of his princely office, his breviary under his left arm, while his right hand is extended as in the act of imparting his benediction to the mariners on the lake.

In the foregoing pages we have endeavored to indicate some of the holy and historical places in Switzerland—only some, for there are many more. We might dwell upon the Christian history of this little republic and find much to edify and instruct us. We would learn, among other things, that with the Franks came the ox and the plough, and that these were soon followed by the civilizing influence of the Church. In the days of the Romans the "good news" came, sometimes through soldiers who had been converted in other countries, and sometimes by men of high rank, like Lucius, a king's son, who braved the dangers of the Rhetian mountains and

[2] The reader may form some idea of the height of this statue by comparing it with some others with which he may be familiar. For instance: The statue of William Penn on the top of the Philadelphia City Hall is 37 feet high. The Bartholdi Statue of Liberty in New York Bay is 151 feet high. This does not include pedestals.

risked his life that he might teach the truths of Christianity to an erring people. We read of the English St. Bret, who had been converted in Rome, and who spent the latter part of his life in a hermitage on the northern shore of Lake Thun engaged in spreading the Word. True, we know very little of the labors of these pioneers of the faith, but we do know of the labors of St. Meinrad and his wonderful monastery at Einsiedeln; we know of St. Sigisbert, who preached in the wilderness of Rhetia before he settled at Disentis. We have referred to St. Gall and St. Columba, who converted the half savage people who dwelt in the depths of the forests. We know that St. Fridolin came from the country of the Franks, wandered along the shores of Lake Zurich and finally built his church of St. Hilarius in a valley at the foot of the Glärvisch. The name of St. Hilarius, by the way, was in time corrupted to Glaris or Glarus, and was in this form given to the small canton which lies between Schayz, St. Gall and Grissons. This little canton of Glarus shows in its coat-of-arms as its symbol the effigy of the peaceful Fridolin. If we have referred to these pioneers of the Swiss Church, it is to show that they were the centres of that civilization which alone sheds a cheerful light in the darkness of those early times. They alone possessed the gentleness, the wisdom and the learning of the age, and all the kindred spirits flocked around them to learn the principles of a better life and to spread these principles abroad in wider and wider circles. It is to be regretted that the records of these holy men are so meagre; they worked for the glory of God and not for their own; they have not cared to preserve even the names of the early Bishops of the Church, for that of the Bishop of Lausanne is not mentioned for nearly two centuries, nor that of the Bishop of Basle for nearly four, while that of the Bishop of Sion is seldom mentioned, if at all. But their works have survived their names. They did not confine their labors to spirituals alone, for we learn that under their guidance the people were taught agriculture. From their monks they learned to burn lime and to replace their wretched huts by habitable and comfortable houses; their garments of skins were replaced by woolen clothes, which the housewives were taught to weave for themselves; the waste lands were redeemed and made productive, and good roads were built, schools in time were opened for the instruction of the children, the power of the Church spread and the country prospered through three centuries and a half of Frankish rule.

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RELIGION AND CULTURE.

A WORLD war has been waged to make existence safe for democracy and small nations. As disinterested and humane a motive as it seems, it is not the outcome of modern civilization. The kindred groups and tribes that broke away in far-off Aryan days from the mother of races settled down, some on the shores of the Danube, others along the coasts of the Mediterranean and others, even penetrating into Africa, carved out provinces for themselves and became in the course of aeons the shapers of art and makers of culture. National ideals and racial instincts are forces which have their origin in the primal orchestration of humanity. In the midst of smoke and the slaughter of war do we behold the warlike tribes that peopled Europe before the advent of the Christian era reek and fall before the self-trained veterans of the warlike Cæsar, to unite in still more vengeful force at a later period.

The Roman Empire spread over two continents, wiping out national boundaries and deleting national distinctions. On its disintegration national forces came into operation until they were partly crushed beneath the combined strength of the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. Here, too, a gradual decline facilitated the work of the Reformation, and the Italian "Rebirth" gave rise to a nationalizing era which threw off the yoke of Rome. In the Napoleonic era Europe was destined to see itself once more bereft of its national entity before a military over-lord who would fain quench the lamp of freedom in Europe. Finally, at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, great national structures were determined which have more or less maintained themselves to this day.

On the side of literature we have a striking parallel. In pre-Christian times Roman civilization and its incoming classic culture forced themselves upon all the countries of Europe. In the fourth century Roman domination was shaken to its foundations as the floodgates of barbarism were let loose upon a civilized world. Here the remedy and the safety came from two little islands up in the northern sea. On the advent of Christianity Church Latin was an influence which shared in this leveling of minorities. In the interval elapsing between the Dark and Middle Ages languages and literature had time to outgrow their humble beginnings. But here it was France that pioneered the path and set the fashion for her less ingenious neighbors. Between the two languages of the North and South of France there was in the Middle Ages a kind of division of labor. The North took narrative poetry, the South lyric, and French narrative and provençal lyric in the twelfth century between them made the beginning of modern literature for the whole of

Europe. In the midst of this upheaval of nations and world-wide flux Ireland's position is most singular. The expanding wave of Romanization never touched her shores, as the Roman eagles were never planted on her soil. When the savage hordes from the Baltic destroyed and desecrated every fair spot in Europe, while a solitary wave passed over England, Ireland alone was preserved immune. Later, when Christian classic culture was absorbing the interests of the best intellects in Europe in her cause, in Ireland was found the stream of secular literature flowing side by side with her own. In any estimation of the early origins of literature in Western Europe, Irish literary characteristics will not be sought in vain.

To understand the civilized community of which we are a part and its relations with the other civilized communities of the world and with the literature in which these communities are reflected, we must widen our literary programme and make generalizations which will enable us to see the whole field of literature as a unified system rather than as an aggregate of disjointed and independent material. By so doing we will be falling in with the views of our time and following where the study of higher criticism and scientific interpretation may lead us. There are many signs of the times which are favorable to general culture. It is an age of public libraries. The enterprise of leading publishers is doing excellent work in making the whole world's literature accessible. It is also a special note of the present time that the highest scholarship is prepared to devote time and energy to the transplanting of literary masterpieces into the vernacular in translations which are themselves literature. "Only world literature," says Mr. Moulton, "literature studied apart from distinctions met in particular languages, gives a body of literary material from which it is safe to make generalizations; only in world literature can the life history of literature be fully revealed." Nothwithstanding this strangly marked statement, Mr. Moulton himself seems to fall short when reducing his principles to practice. In his critical deductions he seems to ignore the existence of a very significant body of Irish and Celtic literature, which, we believe, would have served infinitely better to illustrate his theories than some forced laboring of classic models. Though it may be urged that "world literature" is a colorless, varying thing, differing for the the nation and even for the individual according to the standpoint taken, that the Englishman's literary outlook must of necessity refer us to the Bible and the classics for the most potent factors in his literature's evolution, confining Celtic influence to a tributary quota in the literary stream as it passed through ages of mediævalism, we would venture to augment far beyond preconceived ideas the ambit and constructive energy of Celtic literature.

In our author's treatment of the evolution of the epic the Homeric

masterpiece counts for everything. Though he avails of "Kalevola" and "The Arabian Nights," yet Cuchullian and the Red Branch Knights are apparently not considered worthy of notice. While admitting the rightful preëminence of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" on the score of artistic unity and general excellence, and without seeking to minimize its fundamental importance in epic evolution, nevertheless we think ourselves justified in claiming an honored place for the epopee of Ireland both on account of its intrinsic merits and a "form" of unequaled service in the study of "evolutions."

To discuss the three cycles of Irish epic literature, even in briefest outline, would be an immense task. We shall, therefore, confine our remarks, in the main, to one cycle, the most important and best known. In the famous Irish epic, the "Tain Bo Cuailgne," there is revealed a world of barbaric splendor; heroes and warriors move before our gaze in a glowing pageant. To institute a comparison between the "Tain" and Homer's work may not be out of place and, as we shall see, our epic compares favorably with the latter. Undoubtedly, the Greek hexameter is the ideal medium for epic. Still the prose medium may be well recommended. But it is sometimes misleadingly asserted that the Irish epic craftsman employed pure prose. In the oldest types, at least, this is not true. The prose has many poems interspersed, varying from rude verse of the oldest type to the most elaborate new form. It carries out thoroughly what may be assumed as the rules of the mixed kind of narrative, partly verse and partly prose, which is so characteristically Irish, whether or not it is also, as so many think, the primitive form of epic in general. The difference between Ireland and Iceland is that the original heathen traditions had become more obscure and corrupt in Ireland before the stage at which the imaginative literary artist began to work on them. The Northmen have their own humorous stories of the adventures of the gods; the Irish go far beyond them in the revel of the fancy supplied from primeval sources, extravagant fables, which are only not monotonous because the reciters see the fun of them.

The sense of artistic unity and proper subservience of parts show a more finished and more highly developed technique in the Grecian model. To cast aside, however, distinctions of this sort, it is universally admitted that the "Tain" exhibits a nobler spirit of chivalry than the "Iliad." In the Irish epic the champions are better matched. There is something touching in the idea of the friendship and bonds of love that existed between them from the days of their apprenticeship which heightens the interest of the story. The contest exhibits a chivalrous sense of generosity and a desire for fair play characteristic of the Irish nature—always noble and self-sacrificing.

We observe the portrayal of grim, cruel realism in the one and the sense of high-minded valor and scrupulous honor in the other. But to discuss briefly another point of view, more important from the point of view of this essay.

What has enabled the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" to supersede the epic work of their own time and to persist as dominant types is the "conquest of abounding matter by perfect form," which is another way of expressing the culmination reached in the Organic Epic. There are four main stages that stand out in the evolutionary development of the epic. A series of unit stories struggle out a varying existence. Later on these stories become fused or grouped themselves around a number of heroes. The "heroic" stage is reached when the individual heroes acquire a sufficient loftiness of ideals and outstanding valor to mould the minds of men to their image. This stage may be well illustrated from manifold examples taken from the "floating" mass of Irish epicism. Finally we have the great consummation on which a perfect plot is devolved by the amalgam of minor episodes and many stories made to serve the purpose of a unified artistic whole. For such a consummation a solitary artist is required. So we have Homer forging the flying mass of the heroic material of ancient Greece into the perfect plot of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey." In Ireland, however, such an artist did not often occur, with a consequent defect in the disposal of the "matter." The architectonic work of coördinating traditional material into a harmony is well exemplified in the Homeric arrangement. But in the Irish epic we are continually nearer the more rudimentary stages. The "Tain," which is unquestionably the most finished and less disjointed creation, contains passages such as the combat of Cuchullian with Ferdia, which become immoderately extended and form almost a separate story intercalated with jets of beautiful poetry. The long and popular story of the "Tain" has not only gathered round it a group of shorter explanatory tales called remocela, but we find inserted in the body of the story fresh episodes which had an independent existence in the "floating" material. However, the general outline and purpose of the ordinary Irish epic is clear and the construction is carried out on a definite literary plan.

Thus we see while Irish epic literature is great in itself and would undoubtedly have aroused more attention had it not been clothed in a garb which even the most thoroughly equipped literary historian would not venture to master, it is also of the greatest importance from the point of view of the modern study of literature. Its oldest sagas bring us back beyond the mists of centuries, before the dawn of the first Olympiad, ere the birth of the wolf-suckled twins who founded Rome. The Cuchullian cycle centres around one great figure—Cuchullian, the Achilles of ancient Ireland. In the heroic

lays of the Fenian cycle we see in one kaleidoscopic glance a splendid phalanx of natural heroes as powerful and majestic as the gods of Olympus, yet extremely tangible as they contend in party strife and hurl their mighty challenges against each other in the swelling uplands of royal Tara.

For variety of form, range of material, as an example of distinct types our epic output is important, though little known. It bears all the traces of a hoary antiquity, of a barbaric structure, and is the independent growth of a nation that bloomed early. It had attained an artistic plan ere the hybrid literatures of mediæval Europe had fully coalesced. It is racy of the soil, since neither Christianity, classic culture nor the hardy civilization of the North hastened its evolution.

To trace the interaction between Celtic learning and the poetry of the Saxon through the mist of cloudland which surrounds the Dark Ages will at best but reveal faint and fitful glimmerings of a superior literature encroaching upon and assuaging the hardier poetry of the North. That there is even now a faint glimmer of the great dawn to come is admitted alike by the painstaking historian and the critic of insight. All through Cynewulf and Caedmon we have occasional stammerings in imitation of rhyme as it was then practiced by the Irish. It would be interesting to prove this beyond doubt. Many litterateurs think and documents like the Book of Carne serve to prove that the interaction between Celtic and English prosody was all through the Saxon settlement much closer than many historians of repute have thought or would be unprejudiced enough to admit. From the very earliest times we had hosts of Irish missionaries invading Northern England, bearing with them books and a civilization peculiarly Celtic. We had also the existence of a great body of Welsh songs in the Northumbrian districts. Moreover, there was constant crossing and recrossing of Northumbrians to Ireland and of Irish to Northumbria. The number of monasteries of Irish origin in England at this early period is estimated to be over half a hundred.

But all this took time, and casting our eyes back to the situation when the barbarians from the North burst down upon the continent. The four hundred years that elapsed from the destruction of Rome by the Goths to the establishment of the empire of Charlemagne are among the darkest in the history of European life. The barbarian hordes had swooped down on the tottering Roman Empire and transformed into barren wastes the once smiling plains of continental Europe. The centres of education and refinement were deserted, and it seemed as if with the darkening gloom original chaos had returned, and the last faint glimmer of literature and art had darkened into total night. But their sun had set only to rise with

unfaded lustre in the little island in the western seas. She it was that was destined to become the centre of enlightenment and sanctuary of learning during these dismal years when civilization had well-nigh faded from the rest of Europe, and the gloom of war and desolation hung like the mist of death over the suffering world.

The work of evangelization was the unique distinction for Ireland a century or two before England was in a position to enter the lists. The latter got her chief impulse from Ireland, and one cannot help thinking that during those gloomy years when those islands off the western seaboard alone were left unscathed, one of which had suffered from the deteriorating influence of Rome and depended so much for her literary material on the Scandinavian invaders. Ireland deserves a place apart and should not be made to share her honors with a land suffering from most of the ills which befell Western Europe. The Celt, it cannot be denied, preceded the Anglo-Saxon, not only in his Christianity, but in his cultivation of learning, both sacred and profane, and again in his special zeal for the Gospel propagation. In the year 680 Anglo-Saxons passed over to Ireland in great numbers. We can easily trace their sojourns in many Irish monasteries, particularly Armagh. The name, "Mayo of the Saxons," is a sufficient identification of their stay at this monastic centre. King Alfred is supposed to have spent some time in this latter place. It may be noteworthy that Aldhelm, who was a pupil of an Irishman, Mailduf, and trained in his school, became ultimately Bishop of Salisbury and was declared two centuries later by Alfred to be the best of Anglo-Saxon poets.

Taking for granted the existence of Northumbrian schools and the cause of their origin, we will not discuss with Stopford Brooke the reason why a peculiar kind of poetry grew up in this district nor the cause of its isolated literary greatness. Many and varied are the qualities imparted to Anglo-Saxon poetry by the wholesale invasion of monasticism in the northern districts of England. The sweet, well-bred gentleness, religious fervor with its tender supernaturalism, a natural dignity, a grave seriousness of life, are special elements that contributed and which indeed continue to the present day. The monastic tone ministered still further to its endurance. "Our island religion," says Mr. Brooke, "at least in the home of poetry in the North, was first made by the Irish and was deeply tinged by their nature. Owing to their influence a more changing color was given to the religious life, a great spirit of adventure pervaded it, a freer and more passionate daily life entered into it. Also the life the Irish missionaries lived and the spirit they imposed on religion were alike romantic. These things have been one of the powers of our literature—one of the fires which have burnt in it down to the present day." Cuthbert's influence as a writer was

great. He had Gaelic or Irish blood in him on his mother's side. He is set apart as the man on whom the mantle of Columba of Iona had fallen. If his influence was great in the eighth century it has not ceased to be felt in the nineteenth. Not only in Baeda, but in Scott and Wordsworth has he been the subject and inspirer of literature. Intensity of character, variety of life, and a deep humanity make up an image which sent its influence throughout English literature down to our own day. In Cuthbert and Caedmon we see Christianity as a thin veneer over the old heathen virtues, and the gradual assimilation of the Christian spirit was not accomplished without serious resentment on the part of the people. In Cynewulf and his group we advance rapidly. Foreign literary influences in England were ceasing to be insular as the influence of a literary tongue began to hold sway over her writers.

But to treat of Cynewulf—that great Anglo-Saxon poet who rises above the dreary average like a great forest tree—adequately and from our special viewpoint we must gradually introduce the subject and unlock the deep store of personal matter which can be worked out of his compositions. The Venerable Bede had impressed the world with the strange and beautiful story of the Whitley cowherd's poetical vocation. But no later Bede took up Cynewulf to make him celebrated. Thus he sank into that obscurity, together with the literature of his remote period, where he would have slumbered still had not the Germans lighted the way to its dusty treasures and pioneered the work of resurrection. But by a gradual process of conjectural restoration he has emerged from the gloom of centuries like a pyramid long submerged brought to light again. We can now compare and discuss his career and works and his exact literary importance. His works are contained in the Exeter and Vercelli codices. To Kemble we owe much, as he was the first to make investigations in connection with Cynewulf, as he was the first Englishman to concern himself in Old English linguistics. Some of Cynewulf's authentic work is rune-marked, and amongst his "Riddles" are to be found much autobiographical information whose meaning is very difficult to elucidate. These "Riddles" have assimilated the Irish attitude towards nature. This tradition lingered on in the North and the Celtic border-land down to the time of Chaucer, whose authority and prestige established the conventional treatment of nature. Trautman was the first to give a successful rendering of these runic passages. But information from the supposed "Bekenntnisse" of this first of cryptogrammatists was long like mere darkness. Amongst some troublesome hypotheses put forward was one which associated him with the vagabond paternity of minstrels and another which provided him with a wife. The latter fact was supported on the wrong interpretation of a riddle, and so far was it

from being true that his signature to a degree at a synod at Clovesho in 803 proves that he was an ecclesiastic. In spite of much loss of time and energy in the blind alleys of rash conjecture we have reached a stable and satisfactory interpretation of his work in Stopford Brooke, as follows: "The riddles tell us more about his youth. They make plain that he knew some Latin, that he had received a good education at the convent school. They show that he was a lover of natural scenery and of animals, a close observer of all he saw and heard; that he delighted as much in the song of the dove and the nightingale as in the roaring of the tempest and the sea; that he was imaginative and rejoiced in his imagination; that he was as ready to verse a coarse song for the peasant as a lay of the sword for the king; that he had a passion for impersonation and a keen sensitiveness to beauty, which afterwards became a keen passion for righteousness; that he had fought as a warrior, had sailed the seas and seen many pleasures of human life." Mr. Stopford Brooke proves at great length his Northumbrian associations. He shows from the spirit of his poetry that his home must be bordered by the storm-lashed sea. Then the note of retrospective melancholy, amongst other things, point in this direction. We have no proof of the existence of a school of natural poetry in Mercia or Wessex at that time. It matters not much whether Cynewulf's poetry is presented to us in Wessex garb, for it was quite a common thing to translate other dialectical productions into the literary dialect of the South. Thus also Professor O'Neill voices the same idea: "Gradually darkness was dispelled and more and more clear did it appear that Cynewulf, a Northumbrian, was an erudite ecclesiastic and flourished about the middle of the eighth century." But even more serviceable knowledge for our purpose was yet to be gleaned by the brilliant researches of Trautman and his judicious use of the labors of many predecessors. It seems that in the year 737 Cynewulf became abbot and Bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island. In the year 750 he got connected in a quarrel with King Eadbert, of Northumbria, and as a consequence he was imprisoned. During his captivity his see was administered to by Bishop Frithubert, of Hagustaldesham. Some time after Cynewulf was restored to his see, which he resigned of his own accord in 780, and bowed down with the weight of years he retired to a monastery, where he died in 783, ten years before the Norse hordes burst with fury upon the scene of his beloved labors. Still these admissions, striking as they undoubtedly are, do not refer to him the art of song. But no epoch of European literature has left such indistinct traces in history as that of Northumbria during the hundred years of its bloom. No doubt the devastations and pillaging onslaughts of the Norse must have been so successful and complete

as to have almost obscured the mere fact of its existence. Irishmen have a special reason to regret that it should be so, as Northumbrian culture was entirely the work of Irish missionaries. Lindisfarne was the eldest daughter of Iona. In the ruin of Christian Northumbria at the hands of Viking pirates one of our country's grandest creations fell to the ground. With it fell into the oblivion of centuries the writings and almost the memory of one who may be ranked among the noblest of ancient Ireland's spiritual offspring.

No doubt we see in what is declared to be our poet's earliest work all the adventuresomeness and hot-headedness of youth, but we see, too, in his later work the period of his conversion. The fifteenth "fitt" of Elene is valuable as documentary evidence bearing on the poet's personality. It contains not only his signature in runes, but is a fragment of a confession unveiling the manner of the man to whom the Cross became salvation. It shows that he was old when it was written. It also ascribes his conversion to a true understanding of the Cross. But with regard to Elene, it is strange also that it carries us back to the heathen spirit breathed in his earlier work. It seems as long as he was troubled about his sins he kept his poetry clear of all forms of heroic verse, and when his mind was firmly rooted in spiritual assurance he allowed his original bardic nature to roam at large. But all this is a gain to art, for he uses with fuller power and with more art the quick hammering strains of the short epic line and with greater freedom the old saga-like phases of warfare by land and sea. In Cynewulf we have the vigor of the Keltic missionaries and the inspiration of the new Christian ideas linked with the sublimated hardihood of the old pagan piracy. Doubtless we have in him a blend of all three. He delights in the sea, he is full of the spirit of battle; the ship and the sword are familiar and dear to his imagination. Often he follows with direct simplicity the lead of the Scriptures of patristic doctrine, of pious legend. Noteworthy is the transition from the old piratical heathenism of the old Norse Scops and Scalds to the milder and more gracious spirit of Christianity, to the spiritual meekness of a Bernard or of a Francis. "In many respects, Cynewulf was an earlier Milton, a more Catholic Milton. The vehemence, strength, the refined charm in descriptive passages, the deep personal note are all represented. The gloom which broods over much Anglo-Saxon poetry and helps to turn readers away from its treasures, though not unmarked in Cynewulf, is still flashed across and assuaged by many rays of delight in nature, gentle melancholy and reliance on divine mercy. "Now," says Professor O'Neill, "came into English poetry the pleasure in green grass, flowers and streams, songs of birds in spring, cool winds in summer; there began the happy blending of these with vividly realized human incident and emotion."

Compare the following purely Keltic description of the Cave of St. Guthlac: "Pleasant was the sunny plain, airy his dwelling place, sweet the bird's song, blossoming the earth, and the cuckoo announced the year." And when the old saint dies sweet odors exhale from his body, "such fragrance as in summertide flowering plants, honey-flowing and delightful, send forth over the wide plains." The following is illustrative of the best Anglo-Saxon poetry:

"Lightly lifting on its way, laden to the Lithe,
Flew at speed the Flood horse, till the Floater of the tide,
After the sea-playing, scornful, surged upon the seacoast,
Ground against the shingle-grit."

The "Andreas"—a legend of the Apostle Andrew—is perhaps the most vigorous of English poems before Chaucer. Of the signed and therefore certain poems that on the Ascension may afford something characteristic of his strongest moods:

"So the greedy Ghost shall gang searchingly through earth
And the flame, the Raveger, with its fierce terror,
Shall through high-up timbered houses hurl upon the plain."

Perhaps the best known of his poems and the most admired utterance of the early English genius is the "Phoenix." Clearly it is no production of a strolling minstrel, but the work of a learned poet. It is a free rendering of the Latin poem of Lactantius, and the following is a portion of Brooke's English version suggested by Professor O'Neill. It is the correct and truly poetical way of handling nature, "the power of so dealing with things as to awaken in us a wonderfully full, new and intimate sense of them, and of our relations with them." The especial keynotes of Irish nature poetry are intensity and suggestiveness. The former exists when the poet identifies himself with his subject and projects himself with almost fierce love into its life, to wrest its secret, to render its characteristic aspect. The latter is a challenge to the imagination, a subtle playing with the emotions, an elusive hint, a dandling with the half-said thing. It is as follows:

"Winsome is the wold there; there the wealds are green, spacious-spread below the skies; there nor snow nor rain, nor the furious air of frost, nor the flame of fire, nor the headlong squall of hail, nor the hoar frost's fall, nor the burning of the sun, nor the bitter cold bring woe to any wight."

Here surely the northern poet speaks eloquently, not only in his proper theme, but also in subject, feeling and recasting of the Irish pupilage which had created Northumbrian civilization. His land of the Phœnix is no Arabian paradise, but the Tir-n-an-oz

of early Celtic vision lore, the Inis Fail spoken of in Milesian mythology. This it is that haunts amid the wintry surgings of the North Sea the poet of wind-swept Lindisfarne.

Here it is the invasion of Celticization, the incursions of a religion and its incoming culture as bloodless in its enforcement as any in the realms of recorded history. Wherever the Irish missionary went he brought his native culture with him. His idea was not to stunt the growth of the vernacular literature by giving precedence to his own, but to provide for its fullest expansion along indigenous lines. Wherever he unfolded the banner of religious propagation, culture and learning followed suit. Irish ideals of heroism, of physical endurance, of equity were of no mean order. We see in them where the Irish monk derived those qualities which made him a pioneer the world over. We see, in fine, the virtues which were to win for Ireland the glory of the conversion of empires.

MARTIN J. LES.

Book Reviews

"The Children of Eve." By Miss I. C. Clarke. A Novel. 12mo., pp. 400. New York: Benziger Brothers.

A well-known foreign reviewer says of Miss Clarke as a novelist: "Miss Clarke writes throughout with delicacy and ease; she manifests a perfect mastery of distinguished diction, and whilst she never forces the note of fervor or indulges in deliberate rhetoric, her pages are musical with sincerely felt enthusiasm and glow with a very definite beauty. The writer is not afraid of the braveries of life, and it is pleasant to scale with her the heights of human character and to feel the rarefied air and tonic breezes of lofty ideals."

It is pleasant to be able to subscribe to this estimate and to add that all these admirable qualities are shown in Miss Clarke's latest novel. The day is past when Catholics are asked to read books by Catholic authors in a spirit of sacrifice. We have an increasing group of Catholic novelists at the present time who have all the ability of non-Catholic writers, and who are free from the infidelity, the immorality and the general degeneracy that characterize the modern novel, and make it unsafe and unsound. Most of them should be stamped on their face "unclean," that they might be shunned as were the lepers of old. Here is a synopsis of "The Children of Eve:"

"Donna Rina Ubinaldi, brought up in the pious atmosphere of an Italian palazzo at Florence, is the daughter of an English mother, and has a mind of her own. She is an exceptionally devout Catholic. Ordinarily very obedient, she resents the well-meant efforts of her titled grandfather to marry her to the Conte Toni Delfini, an Italian nobleman, and goes off to England with a Mrs. Proctor to visit relatives. While at Mrs. Proctor's home Rina meets and falls in love with her son, Markham, a young Catholic who has allowed himself to become intimate with Adrian Guise, an apostate from his religion. His mother has been driven to despair as Markham refuses to give up these dangerous associates. He proposes to Rina, who tells him he must choose

between herself and the Guises. Markham promises to have nothing more to do with them, but he has evidently no idea how strong their influence over him had grown to be."

With this as a beginning Miss Clarke has produced a novel at once powerful and tender, delineated with that delicate and charming touch that has made all her books so popular. In her descriptions she displays a knowledge of Italian customs and atmosphere suggestive of Marion Crawford at his best, and in her depiction of character she is altogether admirable. The reader will not soon forget the graphic reality of Adrian Guise, the menace of whose sinister personality overshadows the lives of Rina and Markham. The novel is more than a love story. It is a vivid picture of the combat waged between the forces of evil and the Catholic Church for the soul of a man—and the Church wins. It will cause much thought among so-called "liberal" Catholics and those who are wont to think themselves "broadminded." Also, it is an admirable refutation of those who hold that Catholic literature is not "virile," and that it does not "appeal."

"The World Problem: Capital, Labor and the Church." By Joseph Husslein, S. J., Associate Editor of "America," and Lecturer on Sociology at Fordham University School. 12mo., pp. 296. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

The much-abused phrase "a timely book" may be applied to the present volume with special fitness. The spirit of unrest which is abroad in the world, and extends to every country, is becoming more alarming every day. Capital, labor, profiteering, exploitation, Socialism, sabotage, strikes, revolutions—are terms that are coming into more common use every day, and that have long since ceased to be abstract terms. They describe actual conditions and methods that are becoming more acute and more threatening and that will lead finally to chaos, if the remedy is not found soon. This is the situation which Father Husslein faces in this volume, and he calls it well "The World Problem." Every man is interested in its solution. It concerns each one without exception, and its ettlement extends to future generations as well as to the present. The Catholic Church believes she has the answer, and that she could bring about unity and harmony

among all men if they would only submit to her direction. In a word, she would extend to all men of good will that peace which her Divine Founder came down from heaven to bring on earth, and which it is His divine will to communicate to them through her. Hence the author applies Catholic teaching to all these burning questions and solves them with Catholic faith and morality. But he does so in a masterly manner. His book is indeed timely and welcome. What a pity that we cannot introduce it into the editorial room of every newspaper and magazine in the country and induce the editor to accept it as a guide. It is appalling at times to read the instructions that are given by these teachers of the public on problems that touch the foundations of society. Truly at times one is tempted to cry out, the blind are leading the blind, and to fear the fulfilment of the Scripture warning that they shall both fkall into the pit. We recommend Father Husslein's work most warmly.

"Alberta: Adventuress." By Pierre L'Ermite, author of "The Mighty Friend." Translated by John Hannon. 8vo., cloth, net, $1.35. New York: Benziger Brothers.

So distinguished an authority as Francois Coppee says to the author of this book: "You have an admirable gift, my dear confrere, for telling stories that are at once dramatic and touching. They possess, moreover, a merit very seldom encountered nowadays—they may be safely entrusted to all readers. . . . I find in the present volume the distinctive quality of all your work—the charm of poignant interest. In 'Alberta' you have done much more than awaken curiosity and sustain excitement. You have denounced a great evil of present-day France: its abandonment of life in the country and the morbid attraction, the malign allurement which our greater towns seem to exercise, not only on humble toilers, but on others more plenteously endowed with gifts of high birth and good fortune. Alas! your arraignment is only too true. The practically uninhabited chateau with the greater part of its lands lying fallow is far too common a spectacle in France. In 'Alberta' you have pointed a warning finger to this eminent national peril."

But this evil and this peril is by no means limited to France

or peculiar to it; unfortunately it is universal and ancient. The story of the Prodigal Son is the same story in its last analysis, and who can guess how long ago the first prodigal asked his father for his portion, that he might desert the quiet peacefulness of the country to follow the alluring lights of the city, with its riot and wretchedness. This story then has universal interest; it might be translated into the languages of the world and find interested and understanding readers in every clime. It is in some sense a sequel to "The Mighty Friend," because some of the characters reappear. Some persons will prefer the former, but this by no means detracts from the merits of the latter.

"Outline Meditations." By Madame Cecilia. 8vo., imitation leather, net, $1.50. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The principle followed in this book has been to give first one or more texts, upon which, as it were, the meditation is built; then to give a short introduction, confined to short, suggestive sentiments, which would bring the matter closely before the mind. After this, the main points are set forth in several leading thoughts, bearing directly on the subject. Each of these points is then elaborated with further short statements, each closely reated to the main subject. At the end of each meditation a practical application has been supplied. The volume is also admirably adapted for the preparation of short sermons. The plans are clear, succinct and easily adaptable to discussion, and the busy priest will find them very handy. A unique feature of the work is that each meditation is printed complete on two facing pages, so that the plan and contents of each subject may be seen at a glance.

"War Addresses from Catholic Pulpit and Platform," 8vo., pp. 313. New York: Joseph L. Wagner.

The fifty-two items in this collection are made of sermons, speeches, addresses and prayers delivered by prominent Catholic clergymen and laymen, at various times and on different occasions since the beginning of the war. They vary in length, merit and importance, according to the circumstances which called them forth, and the ability of the author. The publisher tells us that the

collection was compiled chiefly for its value as a witness to Catholic patriotism and loyalty. It is not supposed to be complete or exhaustive, but it is representative, and it represents the true Catholic sentiment and effort in supporting the American cause in the World War. The most distinguished names on the list are Cardinal Farley, Cardinal Gibbons, Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop Glennon, Archbishop Hanna and Bishops Allen, Carroll, Currier, Gunn, O'Connell, Russell, Hayes and Shahan. Some of these are represented several times. The publisher is to be commended for this compilation, because it brings within our reach an answer to the base charge of disloyalty which has been made against us in the past, and which will be repeated in the future, however much we flatter ourselves that the ignorant bigot has been silenced forever. It also presents to the younger public speaker models of patriotic oratory which may be safely and profitably followed.

"His Luckiest Year." By Father Finn. A sequel to "Lucky Bob." With frontispiece. 12mo., cloth, $1.00. New York: Benziger Brothers.

It is surely a compliment to an author and a proof of his power as a story-teller when his readers cry for more of the same kind, and crave for the opportunity of following their favorite characters through new adventures, rather than to be introduced to newcomers. That compliment has been paid to Father Finn not once, but many times. It is paid to him again in the present instance, for "His Luckiest Year" is not only a sequel to "Lucky Bob," but it is also in the same series as "Tom Playfair," "Percy Wynn," etc. Readers of "Lucky Bob" will welcome this new story, in which the vividly interesting young hero comes into his own at last, after a year of struggle and adventure in a large city. The mystery surrounding Bob's parentage is cleared up in the new story. During his exciting and plucky career in Cincinnati the charming friends he made in his early adventures are not forgotten. Their destinies are progressing in the background together with his own, and in the end they all converge to their original starting point on the banks of the Mississippi. All lovers of Lucky Bob, a very lovable hero, will follow with breathless interest the swift rush of events which brings Bob's vicissitudes to a close. Bob makes his exit

in a loud clash of triumph, enthroned in the hearts of all who were so fortunate as to meet him.

"Seven Legs Across the Seas." By Samuel Murray. 8vo., pp. 408. Illustrated. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co.

This is an unusual book. Generally books of travel are written by wealthy persons, or professional persons, or lecturers who are gathering information for their patrons, because as a rule only persons of this kind have the means and the ability to write such books. But in this case we are told that the author is a printer and linotype-setter, and that he has made a journey of 75,000 miles with little more than his clothes and a Union card. This journey he describes in "Seven Legs Across the Sea," not in flowery language, rather confining himself to the working vocabulary of the plain people, and yet at times with eloquence. He is observant, interested, studious and always frank and fair in his criticisms, comparisons and deductions. Much of historical value may be found in the book, besides topics pertaining to every-day life not generally touched upon by travelers.

"Your Interests Eternal: Our Service to Our Heavenly Father." By Rev. Edward L. Garesche, S. J. 12mo., pp. 155.

"Your Soul's Salvation: Instructions on Personal Holiness." By Rev. Edward F. Garesche, S. J. 12mo., pp. 156. New York: Benziger Brothers.

In the former of these two little volumes the author informs us that "it is one of a group of little books designed to afford to Catholics in the world a convenient series of readings bearing on their own spiritual advancement, the help of their neighbor and the defense and spread of the Church." He adds that "an informal, direct and chatty conference between the writer and the reader is aimed at, rather than any lofty or abstruse flight of rhetoric."

The short instructions on personal holiness which are contained in "Your Soul's Salvation" have for the most part appeared in the author's magazine, "The Queen's Work," under the heading "The Month's Thought." It may be said of both books that they are thought provoking. Each chapter is so short that it may be

read in a few moments, but it is so meaty that it furnishes nourishing food for the mind and normal, healthy growth. This is better than to store up matter for the exercise of the memory only, which may come into our possession for a time and then pass out again without becoming really our own or leaving any permanent trace behind.

"The Hand of God:" A Theology for the People. By Martin J. Scott, S. J., author of "God and Myself." 12mo., pp. 208. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

In "The Hand of God" the Catholic religion is epitomized to the ordinary reader in a way both simple and sufficient. It is a reliable source of information for those desiring to be conversant with their religion for their own satisfaction as well as for those desiring to enlighten others. While it does not embody every subject, it throws lights on the entire matter through its lucid and extraordinary manner of presentation. The subject expounded are those least understood by a great many and misunderstood by those outside the Church. It is an attempt to show God and His work in a true light. Father Scott's explanations are brief, clear and right to the point. They really explain. No one can misunderstand him, even if he does not agree with him. There is an honesty and candor about what he says and how he says it that wil lappeal to every fair-minded person and convince all except the wilfully blind. His book is exceptionally fit for the inquiring Protestant or unbeliever. Even the ordinarily well-informed Catholic will find it easier to place it in the hands of his dissenting neighbors than to try and tell them what it contains. It is well worth having.

"The Casuist." A Collection of Cases in Moral Theology. Prepared and edited by Rev. J. A. McHugh, O. P., professor of dogmatic theology in the Catholic Foreign Missionary Seminary, Ossining, N. Y. Vol. V., pp. 312. New York: Joseph L. Wagner.

The work grows apace. It does not seem long since the first volume of the "Casuist" appeared, and now we have the fifth volume before us. We are glad to see that a hint which we dropped in regard to the earlier volumes has borne fruit. We objected to the

absence of the name of the theologian who was responsible for the decisions. This defect has been remedied in later volumes.

As our readers are aware, the greater number of these cases have already appeared in the "Homiletic Review," but they have been carefully revised and many have been rewritten in whole or in part. The other cases are new. The older cases may be said to have been brought up to date in connection with new legislation and recent decisions. All the cases have been arranged according to the order usually followed in works of moral theology.

They are all of a practical nature. Most of them have been met by older priests: all of them may be met by younger ones. Even the man of longest experience will find here something new, because while the principles of morals are unchangeable, the application ever varies, according to circumstances which are constantly changing. Some of them are exceptionally timely, as, for instance, the question of the validity of unfermented wine for the Sacrifice.

"War Mothers." Poems. By Rev. Edward F. Garesche, S. J. 24mo., net, 60 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The poems contained in this dainty little volume convey a message to every mother who has a son in the service of his country or has perhaps lost one on the battlefield, and will help bring consolation to the lonely heart. Looking on the nobler aspects of the war, Father Garesche has, with sweetness of wording and depth of thought, written a group of poems that will open to all thoughtful eyes vistas into heaven.

"The Prisoner of Love:" Instructions and Reflections on our Duties Toward Jesus in the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. Prayers and devotions for various occasions, in particular for visits to the Blessed Sacrament and the Hour of Adoration. By Rev. F. X. Lasance, author of "My Prayer Book," etc. 16mo., pp. 517. Size, 5⅝ x 3¾ inches. New York: Benziger Brothers.

As is universally admitted, Father Lasance is the most popular writer of devotional books in the English language, and in this special field he stands alone. His newest prayer book contains "general" and "special" devotions. While it has been designed to serve the ordinary purposes of a prayer book, its special object

is to furnish suitable prayers and devotions for visits to the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Hour and the Hour of Adoration. The wonder is how does Father Lasance keep it up! One might reasonably fear that in the production of so many devotional books the reverend author would be forced to a weary repetition, and yet it is not so. Each one is original, each taps a new spring of devotion, and each supplies some special need. We can say of each one, it is the best of its kind.

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